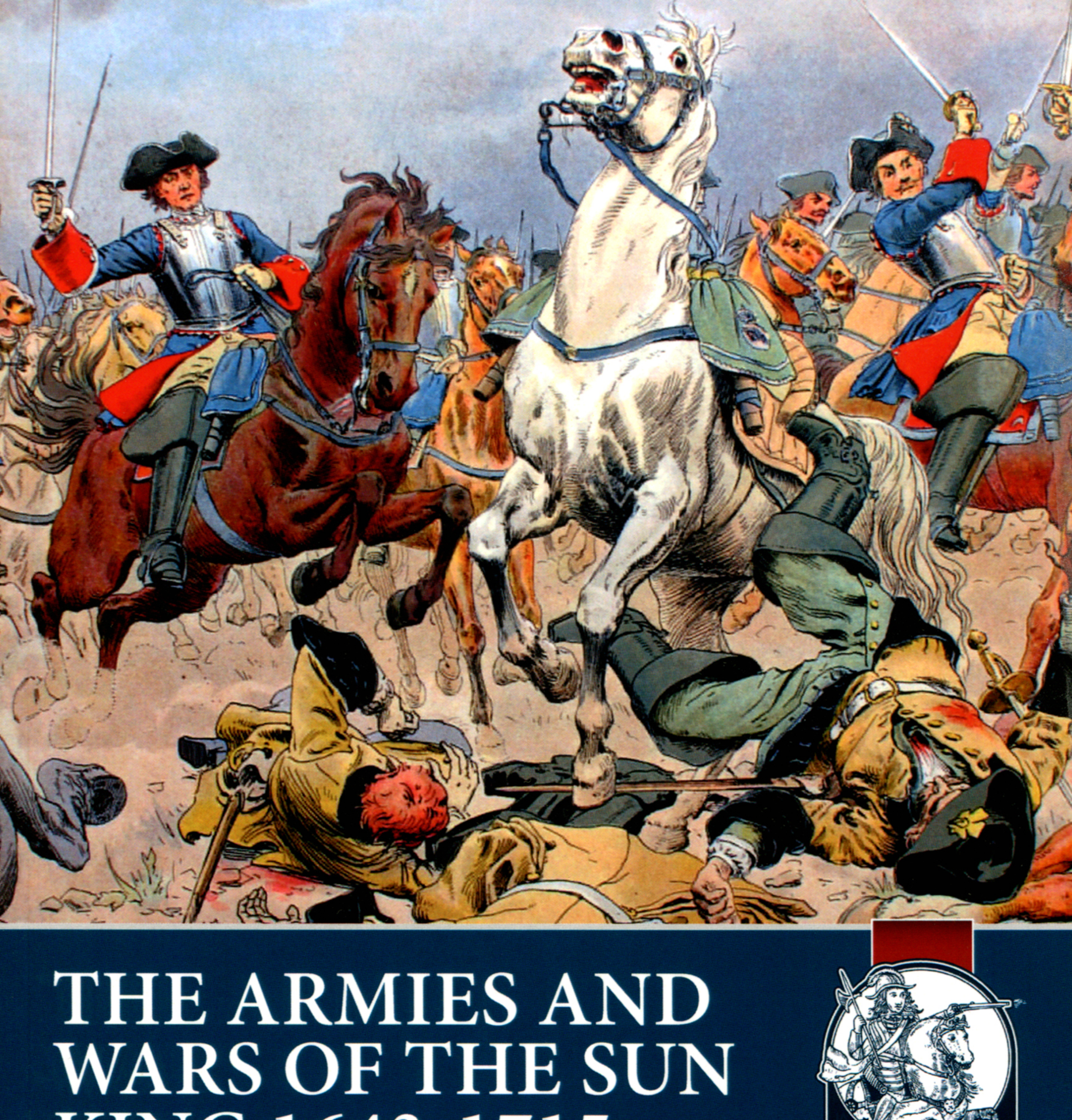

THE ARMIES AND WARS OF THE SUN KING 1643-1715

VOLUME 3: THE CAVALRY OF LOUIS XIV

RENÉ CHARTRAND

Century of the Soldier
1618-1721
No.58

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Volume 3: The Cavalry of Louis XIV

René Chartrand

‘This is the Century of the Soldier’, Fulvio Testi, Poet, 1641

Helion & Company

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Published by Helion & Company 2020
Designed and typeset by Serena Jones
Cover designed by Paul Hewitt, Battlefield Design (www.battlefield-design.co.uk)

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Cover: A charge of the Cuirassiers du Roi Regiment, early eighteenth century. This cavalry regiment had an outstanding battle record. It is shown at the time of the War of Spanish Succession (1702–1714) when it fought mainly against Imperial troops, first in Italy and later at the Rhine and in Flanders. Print after Maurice Leloir. Private collection. Author's photo.

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ISBN 978-1-913118-85-3

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data.
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

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Preface

> "The Rider must live for his horse, which is his legs, his safety, his honour and his reward."
>
> *The Old Cavalry Soldier*, c. 1800

This third volume of the Sun King's military endeavours to cover, for its narrative part, the rather regrettable years 1685 to 1691 that saw the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the sectarian war in Ireland and the sacking of the German Palatinate, in all of which the French army was involved. We show that the effects on the army, regarding Ireland in particular, was beneficial and long-lasting for the French army compared with short term effects of Huguenot troops in opponent armies. The advent of technical equality between French and opposing armies and important geostrategic changes in the "Ottoman equation" are evoked. The campaigns of the 1688–1697 War of the League of Augsburg or "Nine Years' War" are chronicled in its main sieges and highlights mostly in Flanders, but also in Spain and on the rather surprising Italian front. Our chapter on the financial aspects of funding armies and sustaining war economies first looks at France's capacity to raise capital to sustain up to 450,000 soldiers, then sees how the main allied opponent nations tried to meet the Sun King's fiscal challenge.

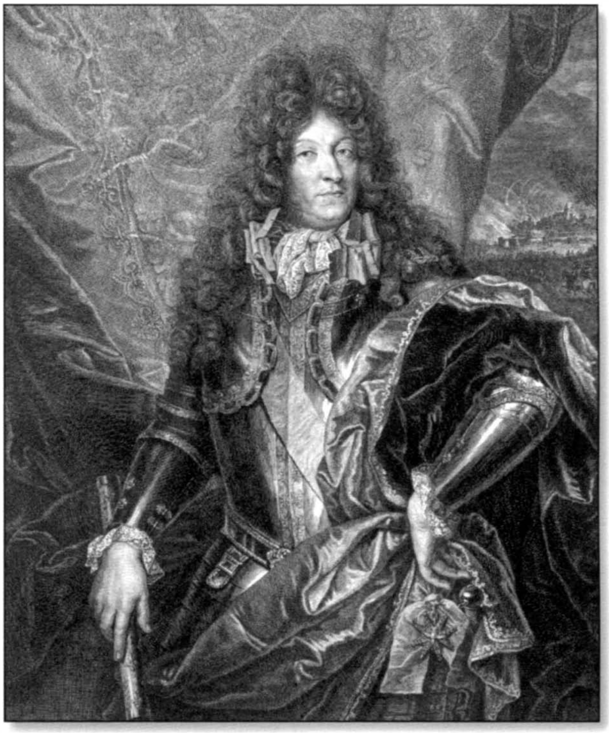
The Cavalry of the Sun King, which was the largest such force in Europe, forms most of the volume from Chapter 10 onwards. It was a complex organisation that had its share of flamboyant officers. Its varied uniforms, weapons, standards, guidons and saddlery are also presented. We also delve on various aspects concerning the horses, a usually less delved into topic. Horses too served their countries well in wars and, like the troopers who rode and loved them, many never came back to amble in familiar fields. The last chapter is, however, devoted to the Irish "Wild Geese" serving with the French armies. This is rounded out by appendices listing all found mounted regiments, and descriptions of uniforms after various contemporary sources with short accounts of two opponent armies.[1]

---

[1] One aspect of this third volume has given the author particular pleasure: writing about cavalry and horses. It brought back pleasant recollections of a long ago youth whose family bred race horses and presided over the Montreal Jockey Club. He was of course introduced to thoroughbreds as a child spawning an eternal love for the noble horse, that marvellous gift of the Gods to humanity.

As previously, this volume has numerous illustrations featuring battles, plans, portraits, soldiers in uniforms from often forgotten artwork as well as especially commissioned colour plates, all of which we feel is essential to have a good understanding of the attractive Age of Louis XIV.

RC



Louis XIV, *c.* 1692. The Sun King is now over 50 years old. This engraving after Geuslain shows him in the protocolary armour and robe with a siege scene, perhaps Mons, in the background. The King's expression is now a reflective gaze, different to his 1660s portraits with an aggressive look. He has seen a lot, and will see more in his dignified stance. (Courtesy Rijskmuseum, Amsterdam)

1

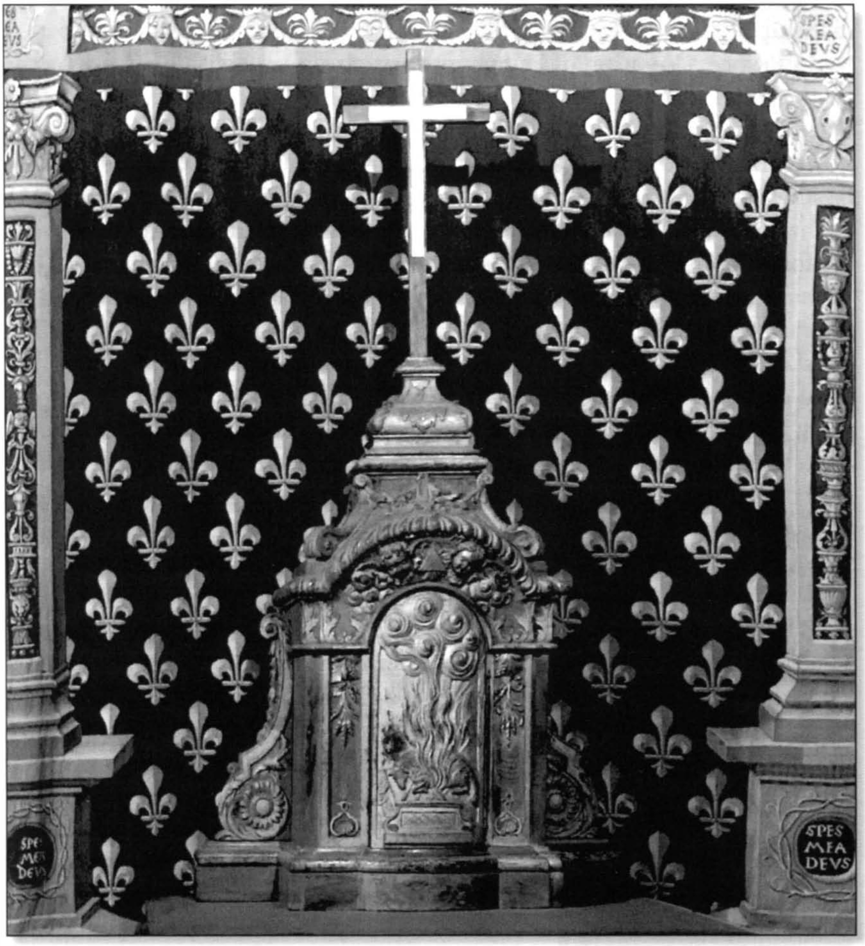
Intolerance: of Protestants in France, of Catholics in Ireland

Two sublimely tragic events that culminated during the 1680s had vast consequences in France and on the French armies as well as on opponent European nations and their own armed forces. They had the same long-standing sources of bigotry, hatred, rapacity to seize wealth and the will to annihilate and be rid of people holding a different belief. In both cases, it was not only religion that was at stake although one's faith became the justification for all abuses.

In the case of France, every history book published in the last three centuries has justly condemned the Sun King's persecution of Protestants by his 1685 revocation of the 1598 Edict of Nantes. These histories outlined the allegedly terrible effects that the mass migration of French Protestants had on the kingdom's business and military establishments.

On the other hand, after a passing nod to the British 1688 Glorious Revolution, the same manuals generally turned away from what went on in Ireland at that time. Yet this too provoked persecutions and mass migration and, for the Sun King's forces, the addition of a very substantial contingent of largely battle-tested soldiers fighting resolutely with his armies. Both events are in fact intricately related and reveal important military factors that had a beneficial effect in the French army.

The seeds of both tragedies are linked and go back to the sixteenth-century splits in the then Christian church of Rome. European nations were racked first by the Reformation and then by the Counter-Reformation, that led to the strong and unequivocal affirmations of faith that divided populations into Protestants that spurned the guidance of the Pope in Rome and Roman Catholics who wished to preserve and enhance it. The areas of Europe most affected were the central and northern parts of the Germanic Holy Roman Empire, Scandinavia, France, the Netherlands and the British Isles including Ireland. Faith in God and how it was expressed, in an age when atheism and agnostic viewpoints were next to unknown, was an enormously important aspect for any person in Europe at that time and, being a life and death issue, soon led to civil wars and near genocidal events as well as widespread



This late seventeenth-century altar illustrates the Sun King's concept of church and state. The gold altar indicated the one true religion in France: the Roman Catholic Church. The golden lilies on blue showed that royal authority and power would uphold it as the official state church. Altar of the Notre-Dame chapel in the St. Vincent cathedral at Chalon-sur-Saône. (Author's photo)

persecutions. One's expression of faith could not be questioned and it was "God's work" to impose it.

The religious wars that these movements entailed on the Continent were constant and often merciless until the end of the sixteenth century when it was reluctantly realised by Catholics that Protestants, called Huguenots in France, were now definitely part of the European equilibrium while Protestants saw that large portions of Europe remained faithful to the Roman Catholic Church. Both sides were exhausted in all respects. Of the other Continental western European nations, large or totally Catholic populations mostly resided in France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Bavaria, Austria and Ireland.

France

King Henry IV of France, who had been a Calvinist until he abjured if he was to effectively rule as a king, signed the Edict of Nantes in 1598 promulgating tolerance between the large Catholic majority and the Huguenots that then made up about one twelfth of the nation's population.[1]

In France, toleration of Huguenots was also mixed with a resolve by the large Catholic majority to convince them to abjure and come back to the "true faith" by all manners of persuasions and also vexations. Huguenots, however, were concentrated mainly in the south-west and up to the port of La Rochelle on the Atlantic coast. There was sizeable support from England to that port and, in the later 1620s, open local warfare broke out between the forces of the French Crown and the Huguenots. While King Louis XIII's prime minister, Cardinal Richelieu, was certainly a Catholic, his overriding concern was that Huguenots at La Rochelle in particular formed a state within the state. This had to be eliminated and Huguenots made to understand that royal authority could not be spurned in the Kingdom of France. The royal army was mustered and the epic 1628 siege of La Rochelle, presided over by Richelieu in person wearing armour with his scarlet cardinal's robe, ended with the city's surrender. It was followed by a "grace" signed by Louis XIII to forgive the rebels. Attempts to have Huguenots convert certainly redoubled thereafter, but at least fighting stopped while theological disputes remained mostly verbal until France became involved in the Thirty Years' War.

While there were religious aspects in this conflict, its main object became who would be the dominant power in western Europe. The main contender was Spain opposing a rising France. Both were Catholic countries so religion was taking a backdrop to high-stakes power politics and geostrategy. France won the contest and, after the 1648 Peace of Westphalia and its non-religious Fronde revolts abated, it further humbled Spain and, from the 1660s, inaugurated the "Age of Louis XIV" that was to reshape Europe in all aspects, not only militarily. There were also some Huguenots in the army, notably marshals Turenne (who abjured in 1667) and Schomberg (who did not). All the same, the Huguenot question was never far away and there remained a widespread basic suspicion amongst many people that Huguenots were not really Frenchmen like the majority and might even rise in arms again. Vexations of Huguenots meanwhile continued, fanned by the official Catholic church.

England and Ireland

For insular England, King Henry VIII assumed the mantle of head of the Church in England during 1531–1532 due to disputes with Pope Clement VII in Rome who would not agree to his divorcing Queen Catherine. This political and diplomatic break occurred in an era when the Protestant Reformation was spreading over Europe and it also came to England and Scotland during the rest of the sixteenth century while more fundamentalist versions of the faith, such as that of the Puritans, also appeared; the official Anglican Church had kept some of the practices of the Catholic Church, but was totally independent from the Pope in Rome.

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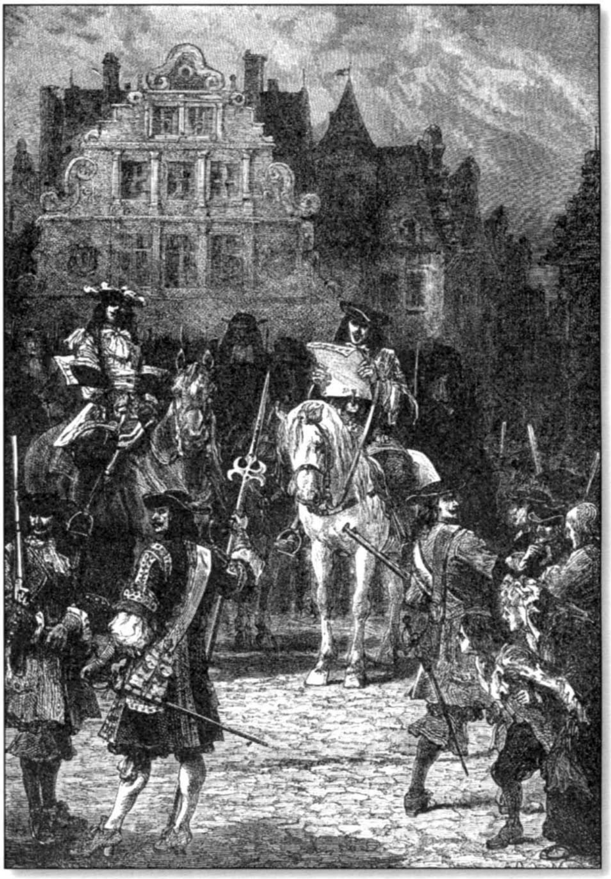
[1] Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), *Le Siècle de Louis XIV* (Berlin, 1751, Gallimard 2015 edition), p.598.

Ireland remained strongly Roman Catholic. It had come under English rule since the end of the fifteenth century, which began a practice of seizing the best lands to give them to Protestant English and Scots settlers. English troops would be on hand expedite matters if need be. The English Civil War and the advent of the Puritan government in the mid seventeenth century only made matters worse for the Irish. There were also stirrings in the Highlands of Scotland, that had remained partly Catholic, although preserving the Highlanders' clan system was likely the most important factor. These events only concerned the British Isles and Ireland, but they would attain international attention in the last decades of the seventeenth century and have considerable effect on the armies of the Sun King.[2]

The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes

Young Louis XIV does not seem to have been greatly attracted by the intricacies of religion, but definitely believed he had been put on the throne by divine grace and ascribed to the Roman Catholic faith, probably because it was an orderly and reliable institution that supported the royal crown. The fate of England's King Charles I at the hand of the Puritans was not especially reassuring for a young king who had been through the dangerous revolt period of the Fronde during the same years and there can be little doubt that it shaped his vision to have a strong central government that could act decisively. In his 1660s recommendations for his son, the Dauphin, the Sun King mentioned the advent of the Reformation in Germany, its effect on many people in western Europe, the religious wars and, in France, the truce brought by the Edict of Nantes and the later revolt at La Rochelle that obviously left an impression that some Huguenots were always conspiring; they had since been caught having secret meetings and furtively infiltrating into La Rochelle again. There were Huguenots in the army at all levels from marshal to private and they all seemed loyal, but what they would do should there be a major religious crisis must have been pondered. At that time, his attitude and that of his government was to maintain only the rights granted to Huguenots by the edict and absolutely nothing more as well as redoubling efforts to have them convert. Oddly enough, while upholding



Announcement of the revocation of Edict of Nantes signed by Louis XIV on 22 October 1685. (Print after A. de Neuville. Private collection. Author's photo)

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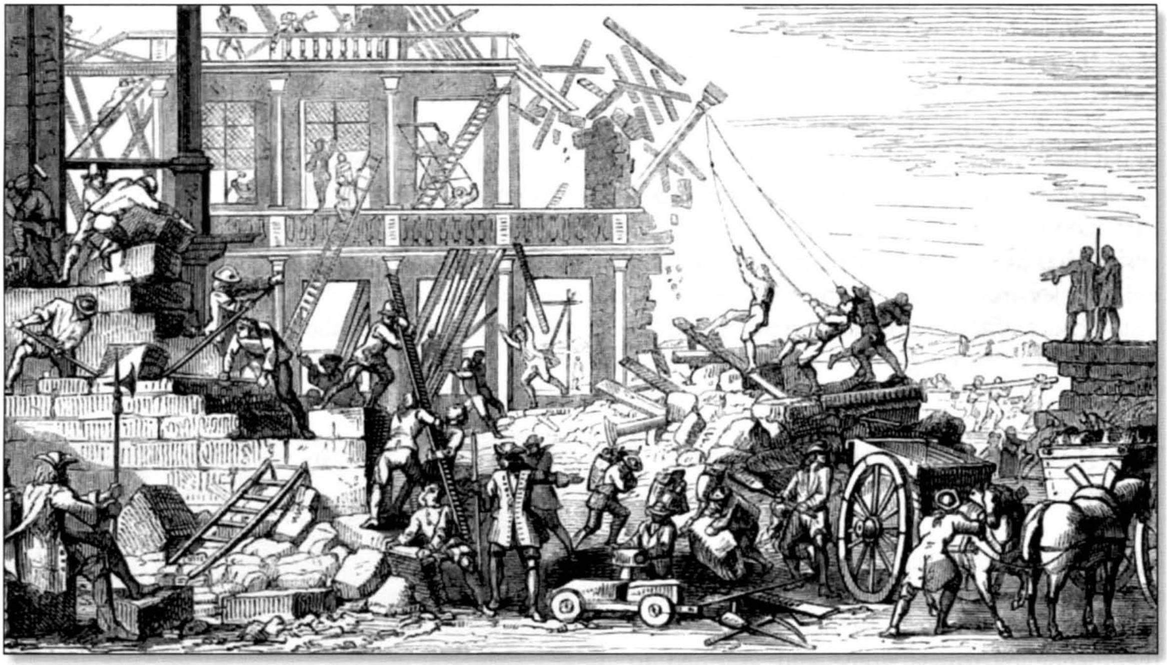
[2] R.F. Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600–1972* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1987), pp.115–116, 155.



The destruction of the Huguenot church at Charenton, *c.* 1685. The army, as can be seen by the sergeants in this print after Sébastien Leclerc, supervised the demolition of many churches as well as homes of Huguenots. (Private collection. Author's photo)

"the respect we must always have for the church", the King was also very critical of the Roman Catholic Church's management in France and, feeling there were too many monasteries in the kingdom, forbade any new ones and limited the number of clerics they could have.[3]

As years went by however, the Catholic lobby near the King grew stronger and eventually included Madame de Maintenon, his mistress, as well as Minister of War Louvois. The Catholic lobby was especially anxious that there should be more Huguenots abjuring their faith and, by the early 1680s, it was agreed that some of the army could be used to convince then to convert … or else. In April 1681, Huguenot homes were specifically identified to quarter troops that were far from sympathetic because the soldiers were obviously rabid Protestant-hating Catholics that were now given the chance to convert their fellow citizens to the true faith. Dragoon regiments were seemingly ideally qualified for this type of quartering and they soon arrived with their horses to take over their quarters. It was the beginning of what came to be known as the *Dragonades* because many dragoons were involved, but there were other cavalry and infantry units participating in what became a terrifying time for any Huguenot.

Hideous scenes of rough treatment and abuses were the result for the unfortunate Huguenot families that received the soldiers in their homes. Most would not abjure and their desperation went to the point of running away and hiding the children, since those of seven years and older were allowed to leave their parents to convert. This went on for years in a relatively

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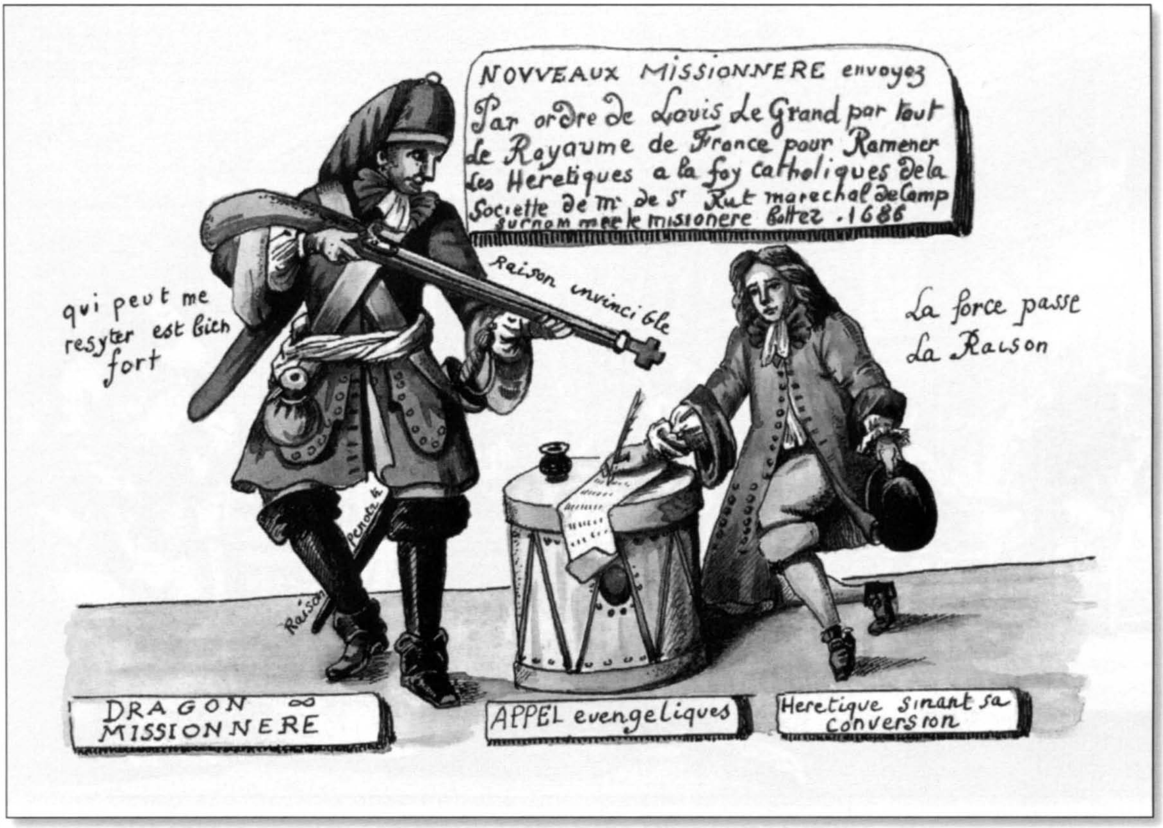
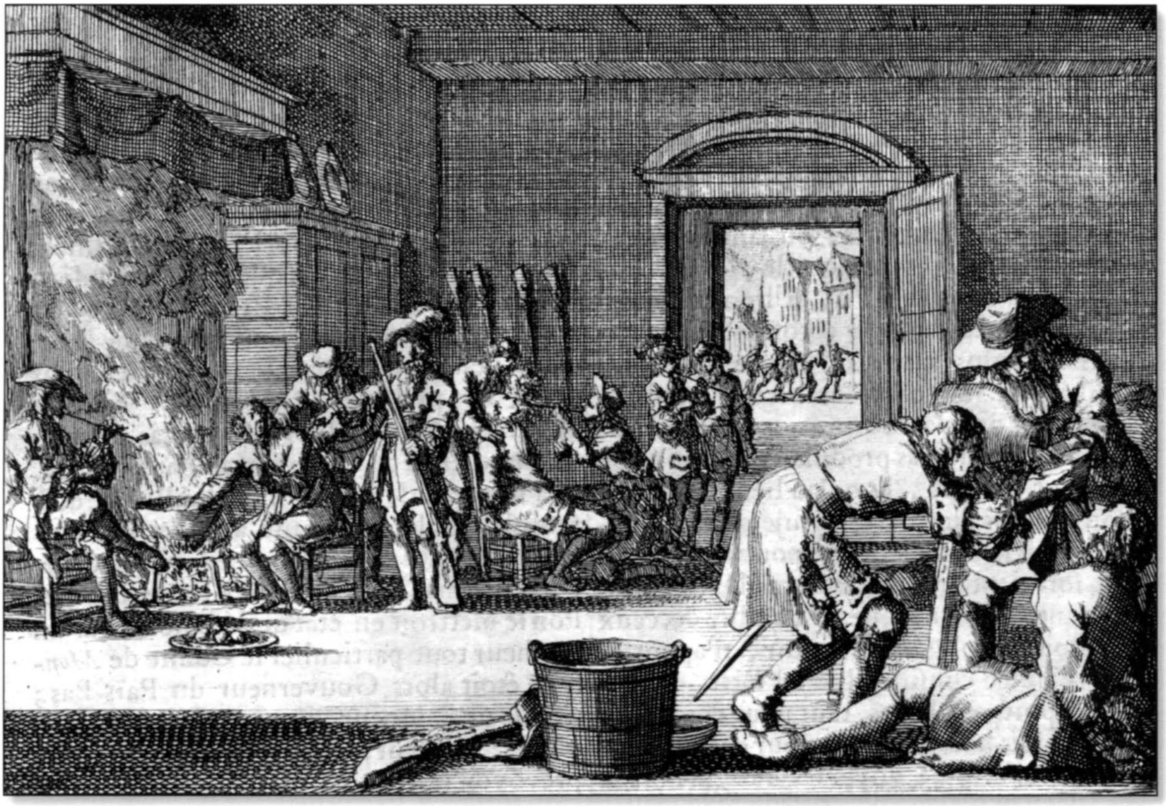
[3] Louis XIV, *Mémoires de Louis XIV*, Jean Longnon, ed., (Paris: Tallandier, 1928), pp.59–63, 220–221.


NOVVEAUX MISSIONNERE envoyez
Par ordre de Louis Le Grand par tout
le Royaume de France pour Ramener
les Heretiques a la foy catholiques de la
Societte de mr de Sr Rut marechal de Camp
surnommee le misionere Bottez . 1686
qui peut me resyter est bien fort
Raison invincible
La force passe La Raison
Raison
DRAGON MISSIONNERE
APPEL evengeliques
Heretique sinant sa conversion

A Dragoon as a ***Nouveaux Missionnere*** (new missionary) convincing a French Huguenot to abjure his faith, 1686. This old lithograph after an unsigned contemporary print shows a dragoon belonging to Fimarcon's Regiment (according to his green and yellow uniform) transformed into a new type of missionary sent by Louis le Grand to convince heretics to convert under the leadership of the Maréchal de Camp [major general] Sr. de Rut, nicknamed the Missionere Bottez (booted missionary). The dragoon points a musket described as the Raison invincible (invincible reason) to which the abjuring Huguenot mutters that force overcomes reason. (Private collection. Author's photo)

limited way. By 1685, the Catholic lobby felt it was getting near its objective of condemning Huguenots in France. That summer, dragoons with thousands of religious manuals arrived in the province of Béarn that its intendant had promised to convert totally, forcibly herded Huguenots to attend Catholic holy mass, and committed so many outrages in homes that a few women even jumped off cliffs to escape being raped rather than abjure. As for the men who would not abjure, they were liable to be beaten and horribly tortured in their own homes by, frankly, sadistic soldiers. Others were not as roughed up, but instead taken away and thrown into the cells of some castle; once they were found guilty on trumped-up charges, many were added to *la chaîne* (the chain) for the long march in chains escorted by soldiers to Marseilles, because they were condemned to row as slaves in the Mediterranean fleet's war galleys.

So far, the Huguenots were an internal religious matter for the King who well knew the pressures at court, pro and con, regarding them. Not all in his entourage, and they included the Dauphin, were for the strong approach. Then came a skilfully composed brochure that deeply troubled the King. It depicted Huguenots as a large and armed body of men that could act in unison under the impulsions and orders of a secret supreme council. The possibility of a state existing within the state that could lead, as in past reigns, to religious civil war within France was thus entirely possible and perhaps even imminent. This spectre above all other reasons, opined the historian



Helpless French Huguenots tortured by troops to make them abjure their faith and also reveal the riches they might have hidden, c. 1685. (Contemporary print. Private collection. Author's photo)

Michelet, decided Louis XIV to formally revoke the Edict of Nantes on 18 October 1685.[4]

The revocation abolished the practice of the Protestant faith, outlawed its ministers and wished Huguenot children to become Roman Catholics. It was not quite clear about their parents, but the Paris police decided the issue the next day by summoning all Huguenot workmen and ordinary people to abjure; they were terrified and they did so immediately. The King was thus confident that all would be well and allowed the Huguenot middle class bourgeois to assemble and abjure together. In the southern part of the country, abjuring the faith would be more difficult to obtain, but it was now peacetime and part of the army was sent to take its quarters there.

Charles Du Bois-Melly's memoirs of these sad times are graphic as to the persecutions endured by French Huguenots:

> Needless to say, that the soldiers that now invaded the countryside to be lodged soon ruined its inhabitants. Those [soldiers] who came last were the worst because, when they found houses already looted, they wanted money, jewels, gold coins and perpetrated odious cruelties to force their unfortunate victims to deliver these imagined possessions. At the worst of these persecutions, which

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[4] Édit du Roy Portant defences de faire aucun Exercise public de la R.P.R. [Religion Prétendue Réformée] dans son Royaume, 22 October 1685 (Paris, 1685); Jules Michelet, *Histoire de France. Louis XIV et la révocation de l'édit de Nantes* (1860), Vol. 13, chapters 17 to 26.

> lasted several months, I cannot truly say how people lived in towns where all trade was suspended, business interrupted, the markets deserted and the fairs abandoned. In the farming parishes, men and women spent nights outside. In the daytime, while some worked in the fields, others stood guard on the heights to warn against detachments of soldiers that would take them away. Travelling on the roads was very risky and done only for obtaining provisions; when soldiers were seen, people even abandoned their livestock to escape faster.

Furthermore, the soldiers were so ravenous as to even invade and ransack some Catholic homes; the royal government of course intervened and paid some 60,000 livres "for the damage caused to Catholic inhabitants, be it for their furniture that was broken, looted or sold off for next to nothing".[5]

French Huguenot Military Refugees

With no hope of salvation in their native France, hundreds of thousands of Huguenots fled to neighbouring Protestant countries. Soldiers tried to stop them, but to no avail. The tortures and evils of all imaginable sorts that many endured were so awful as to be beyond retelling in our work. Voltaire estimated that up to half a million French Huguenots fled France in the months and years to follow leaving only some 400,000 in France. He further commented that the "Netherlands gained excellent officers and soldiers. The Prince of Orange and the Duke of Savoy had entire regiments of [Huguenot] refugees." Not only were many Frenchmen looking the other way, in spite of possible penalties, to let their Huguenot countrymen escape, but many soldiers guarding the borders turned a blind eye also, especially as some were bribed to do so. Indeed, as seen above, many Huguenots were soldiers of the King's armies and they also fled. The most famous was Marshal Schomberg and he was followed by a multitude of officers and men. Vauban estimated that 600 officers and 12,000 experienced NCOs and soldiers had left. Weygan put it at 600 officers and 20,000 men. Recent studies put the more credible figure of about 3,000 officers that may amount to as many as 15 percent of the French army's officer corps. The number of enlisted men was probably higher also. The total may have come to about 30,000.[6]

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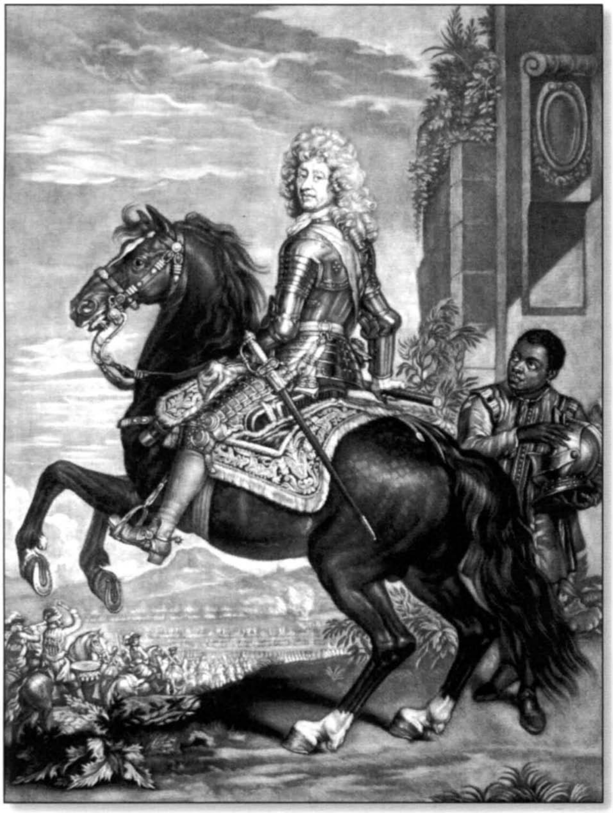
[5] Charles Du Bois-Melly, *Mémoires d'un fugitif* (Geneva and Basel, 1877), pp.42–43.

[6] Matthew Glozier, 'Huguenot Soldiers in the Netherlands', *Historisch Tijdschrift Groniek*, pp.208–209 Integratie, pp.177–178; Camille Rousset, *Histoire de Louvois et de son administration politique et militaire jusqu'à la paix de Nimègue* (Paris: Didier, 1864), Vol. 3, p.507 reproducing Vauban's memoir to Louvois, December 1689, stating that 80 to 100,000 persons had fled with some 30 million livres, that business had been affected, that up to 9,000 sailors had fled, that 600 officers and 12,000 soldiers had also fled and were now fighting "against us". Louvois was evasive in his answer, but his *Testament politique* reassured the King that business was thriving and the army was largely unaffected (pp.536–576). It might not have been authentic being likely printed by Huguenots in Cologne in 1695, and if so it was nevertheless what they observed in France. There were and are many more estimates as to the number of Huguenots fleeing and joining foreign armies in Robert Parsons, *Studies in Church History* (Philadelphia: McVey, 1897), Vol. 4, pp.278–282 from as few as 50,000 persons and 3,000 soldiers to as many as two million persons who would have taken with them 200 million francs (livres), far more than the



Marshal Frederic, Duc de Schomberg, c. 1689. (Print after John Smith. British Museum, London. Author's photo).

Marshal Schomberg was greeted with open arms by the elector of Brandenburg in 1685, the King of Portugal the following year and by William of Orange from December 1688. His proven capacity as one of the Sun King's best, yet somewhat neglected marshals was given full measure in the highest command posts. He followed William to England during the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 that ousted King James II. Schomberg, as seen above, was not the only refugee officer and many were soon found in all levels of command of the allied armies.

From 1685–1686, William of Orange welcomed French Huguenots including many that were soldiers. They volunteered to join the Dutch army and were initially attached to existing regiments organised into distinct French Huguenot companies in the Life Guards and the Blue Dragoons. Others were organised into two Huguenot dragoon regiments under colonels Petit and Louvigny and were nicknamed the blue and the red dragoons due to their coat colours. They left Amsterdam in late 1688 as part of William's army that went to England. Once William became King of Great Britain in 1689, the Dutch and British armies had the same senior command. The Huguenot troops remained in England and were reorganised by General de Ruvigny into four French Huguenot regiments raised from March and April 1689 to serve in William III's army in Ireland. They were nearly all experienced former officers and soldiers in the Sun King's army while, because most of the seasoned British troops were in Flanders, the "bulk of the force destined for Ireland consisted of men just taken from the plough and the threshing floor" as Macaulay put it. The Huguenot regiments consisted of the Duke of Schomberg's Cavalry Regiment, which became Galway's from 1691 and served in Ireland then Flanders until 1693, and Piémont, returning to England in 1696 and disbanded the following year; the three Huguenot infantry regiments raised in the spring of 1689 were La Mélonière's, Marton's (or Cambon's) and La Caillemotte's that became Belcastel's from late 1690. A fourth Huguenot regiment, Miremont's, was raised in 1695.[7]

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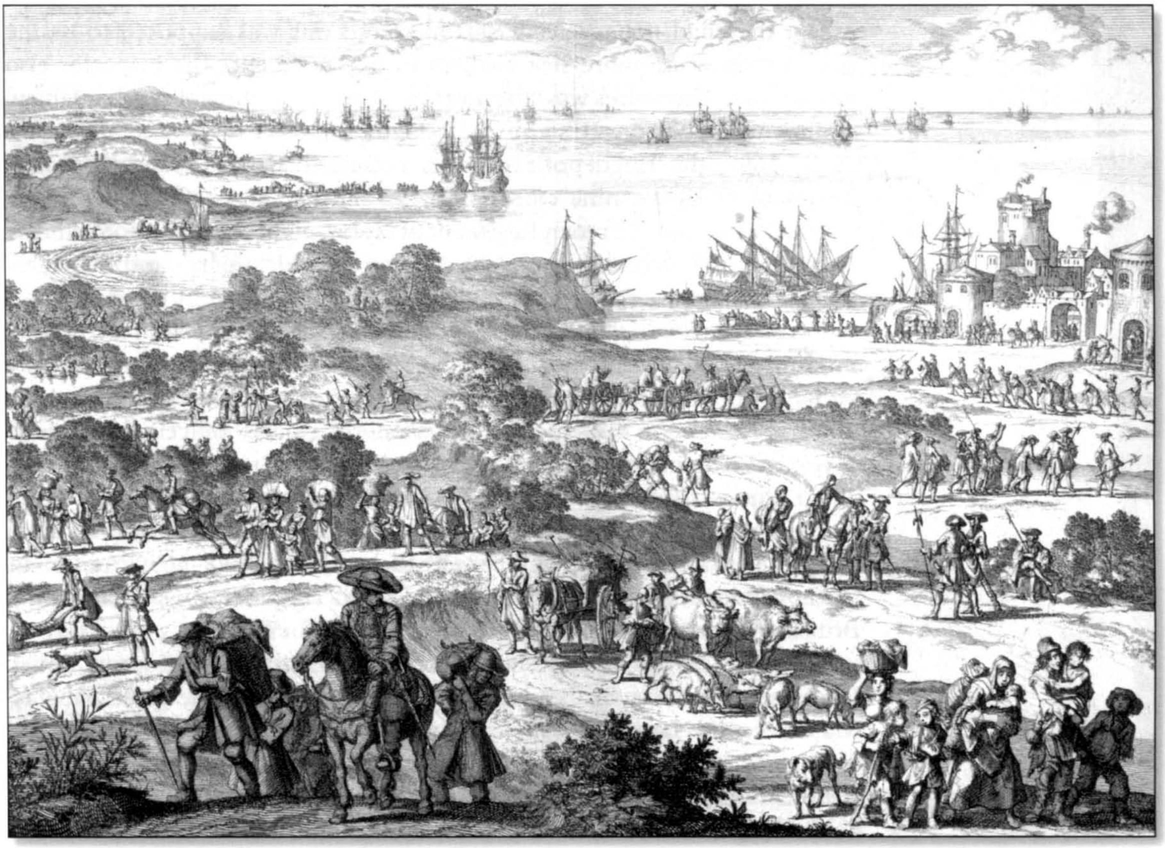
estimated national budget! Reverend Parsons noted that many Huguenot refugee were reported destitute in foreign countries and such numbers were obviously untenable. He also maintained that the 1690–1691 arrival in France of Irish refugee soldiers more than compensated for the loss of Huguenot soldiers.

[7] *Mémoires inédits de Dumont de Bostaquet*, Charles Read and F. Waddington, ed. (Paris: Lévy, 1864), pp.196, 341–342; Thomas Babington Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James II* (London, 1848 and many reprints since. We have used the Philadelphia: Porter and Coates 1887 edition), Vol. 3, p.371; Michael McNally, *St Ruth's Fatal Gamble. The Battle of Aughrim 1691 and the Fall of Jacobite Ireland* (Warwick, UK: Helion & Company, 2018) shows many aspects of the



Huguenots fleeing France, c. 1685-1688. This print by Dutch artist Jan Luyken shows the plight of tens of thousands who left their homes by land and sea with what they could carry, following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Some are shown being robbed by ruffians and bandits, others bribe soldiers to let them pass to the safety of the Netherlands, Germany and Switzerland. (Courtesy Rijskmuseum, Amsterdam. RP-P-OB-66.158)

Huguenot regiments were basically defined as such because of their officers. The enlisted men were often also Huguenots, but, and it may seen as a contradiction, hundreds of French and even Irish Catholic soldiers might also be found in Huguenot regiments as well as individuals other than French. In Ireland during September 1689, evidence was found that some 400 Catholic soldiers in Huguenot regiments would desert, which resulted in Schomberg ordering any others to declare themselves immediately or be swiftly executed if discovered. Some 150 revealed themselves and were sent to the Netherlands to garrison forts, but there seems to have been nothing further done about the other 250 presumably still in ranks, that were thinning since French Huguenot recruits were rare in Ireland.[8]

At the inspection Dundalk Camp in October 1689, Mélonière and Caillemotte's regiments were found in fairly good order, well clothed and also had "surtouts" coats; Marton's (or Cambon's) Regiment of Foot too

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Huguenot regiments in King William III's army and should be consulted for further data. Matthew Glozier, *The Huguenot Soldiers of William of Orange and the Glorious Revolution of 1688: The Lions of Judah* (Brighton: Portland, 2002). While James II was still king, he authorised the Marquis de Miremont to raise a cavalry regiment from 21 September 1688, but it had few French officers, was not really a Huguenot regiment and was disbanded on 3 January 1689.

[8] John Childs, 'Huguenots and Huguenot Regiments in the British Army 1660–1702' in *War, Religion and Service. Huguenot Soldiering 1685–1713*, Matthew Glozier and David Onnekink, ed. (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007), pp.38–43.

except they had not received "surtouts" and this was supposed to be the reason there were more sick soldiers in this regiment. The inspector also noted that Caillemotte's was "the most libertine of the three [French infantry] regiments" in William III's army in Ireland.[9]

By 1697, the Huguenot regiments consisted of Lord Galway's French Regiment of Horse, nine companies, 113 officers, 45 NCOs, 531 privates, total: 689; Mermon's French Regiment of Horse, eight companies, 74 officers, 144 NCOs, 480 privates, total: 698; Marton's, La Mélonière's and Belcastel's French Infantry regiment each had an establishment of 13 companies, 83 officers, 104 NCOs, 780 privates, total: 967. The proportion of officers in Huguenot regiments was much higher than in other British regiments. Other cavalry regiments had 37 or 42 officers each and infantry regiments 66 officers. These were the supernumerary or "reformado" officers that were in excess of the establishment that were allowed in the British, Dutch and other allied armies. This was clearly a measure to accommodate refugee officers that were valuable and well-educated officers from Europe's leading army. Nevertheless all in British service were disbanded in 1698–1699. As seen in the appendices, some 30 regiments of French Huguenots were part of the British army at various periods between 1689 and 1715.[10]

We have less information on Huguenot units in other European armies. Huguenot regiments in Brandenburg-Prussia included the Brandenbourg Musketeers (at Namur in 1695) and Kat's Cavalry (Oudenarde 1706). De Luc's regiment in the Hanoverian army was in several engagements (including Blenheim 1704). Piémont had nearly 4,000 Huguenots in 1693 served in Schomberg's, Miremont's, De Loche's, Montbrun's, Montauban's and Hirsel's regiments that were subsidised by Great Britain.[11]

Besides regiments, some French Huguenots soldiers were to be found in other units. The Dutch Regiment of Foot Guards, nicknamed the "Blue Guards" due to its blue uniform, had an elite company of cadets that was exclusively made up of "young heroes" from leading Huguenot families. It was 200 strong and actually was a military academy that, over the years, provided many excellent officers to the Dutch army. It served bravely in many engagements until it was annihilated at the battle of Malplaquet in 1709 when it lost some 195 cadets.[12]

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[9] The uniforms and weapons of the Huguenots are discussed in McNally, *St Ruth's Fatal Gamble. The Battle of Aughrim 1691 and the Fall of Jacobite Ireland*, and also shown thanks to attractive plates by Sean O'Brogain. Charles Dalton's *English Army Lists and Succession Registers 1661–1714* (London: Eyre & Spotttiswoode, 1892–1904), Vol. 3, pp.118–120.

[10] *A Short History of Standing Armies in England* (London, 1698), pp.33–34. These regiments were on the Irish establishment. See also R.H. Whitworth, 'James II, the army and the Huguenots', *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* (henceforth JSAHR), LXIII (Autumn 1985), pp.130–136.

[11] D.W. Boileau, 'Huguenot Regiments' question, JSAHR, XXXII (Winter 1954), p.188 and XXXIV (Spring 1956), p.43 gives references to German studies of Huguenot units in Brandenburg-Prussia; 'État des troupes de Sa Majesté britannique au service de Son Altesse Royale' [Piémont] 4 October 1693, *La guerra de la Lega di Augusta fino alla Battaglia di Orbassano* (Torino: Academia di S. Marciano, 1993), p.167. The British subsidy payments to Piémont were very tardy if paid at all and this had serious consequences for the Grand Alliance from 1696.

[12] John Cornelius O'Callaghan, *History of the Irish Brigades in the Service of France* (Glasgow: Cameron and Ferguson, 1883), pp.265–266n. According to Louis Susane, *Histoire de l'infanterie*

Effect on the Army within France

In all this, one may wonder what happened to the Huguenot soldiers that stayed in France. They were surely good men who loved their country and the lives they led as soldiers. Obviously, they were encouraged by the Catholic chaplains and their officers to join the "true faith" and must have abjured sooner or later. Yet, there is nothing quite like the fraternity that exists amongst soldiers as they experience life and death in the trauma of battle and see both human utter cruelty and man's next-to-divine kindness. Military veterans are bound by a unique common experience like no other that transcends race or creed. Thus, one would not be surprised to find that Huguenot soldiers may well have continued to serve and secretly pray, even if abjured, with the discretion of their comrades. It is impossible to know, but some regiments probably had many such soldiers and we raise here the "Black Legend" of the soldiers that were tasked to build the Maintenon Canal.

While the palace of Versailles was under construction during the 1680s, Minister of War Louvois, enemy of the *hérétiques* Huguenots, was tasked with finding a way to bring a lot of water to make really remarkable fountains in Versailles' gardens. Vauban furnished a plan to divert some of the water of the Eure River at Maintenon and build a canal to Versailles about 65 km away. Building started in the spring of 1686. To do the work, Louvois ordered thousands of soldiers to the area to dig since it was peacetime. With war clouds looming, it was a good idea not to disband too many troops, but they had to be kept busy. In a panegyric article to the glory of the King whose constructions "equalled those of the Roman emperors", the June 1688 *Mercure Galant* mentioned that some 20,000 troops were "removing earth" not so much for the pleasure to have waters of the Eure River at Versailles, but to keep them fit in peacetime while also procuring much work for "an infinity of people" who would otherwise subsist with difficulty "which is why His Majesty" started this work. As it turned out the whole project turned into a large fiasco and many men died of ailments and fevers. It was never completed and finally abandoned in the mid 1690s.

Over two centuries later, the "Black Legend" came forth thanks to the research work of Henri Lehr, a Protestant minister. He raised the possibility that the regiments present were suspected by Louvois of having many Huguenots in their ranks. The 1686 church registers of the village of Saint-Pierre d'Épernon revealed that some 30 soldiers in quarters there had abjured within three months, raising the likelihood that there must have been many more Huguenots that had not abjured, for instance those in units recruited in southern France such as the Languedoc Infantry Regiment. This was somewhat confirmed by the discovery of mass graves outside cemeteries of the Catholic church indicating the persons buried there were not of that faith. How many soldiers "buried in these humid lands" was given by one Doyen in his 1786 *Histoire de Chartres* as "10,000 men." In all, perhaps as many as

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française (Paris: J. Dumaine, 1876), Vol. 3, p.53, the 'Blue Guard' cadets were annihilated by the Bourbonnois Regiment.

60,000 soldiers may have worked on the canal between late 1685 and 1694. Recently, historian André Corvisier came to question the "Black Legend" and applied the principles of statistical data research on the Maintenon Canal epidemic, which started in November 1685 and lasted until December 1688. The church, village and hospital registers recorded far smaller numbers of deaths. Even by calculating coefficient data projections, the total came to less than a thousand. And there was no proof that unconsecrated grounds held only Huguenot remains. At that time, army chaplains could simply bless the massed burial grounds after a battle or during an epidemic for fear of rotting bodies and pestilence. We will likely never know if there were more Huguenots than Catholics there although, especially with Louvois in charge, the notion of targeting likely Huguenots with unpleasant duties is not to be spurned.[13]

There were probably many other incidents concerning persecution for suspected Huguenots within the ranks that remain unknown or largely unrecorded. Most rankers in any army are not usually especially religious and are proud to serve their country, so would see desertion into an opponent army as next to treason. Thus, men who loved their army comrades as brothers and were proud of their nation in spite of its religious politics undoubtedly bowed to the inevitable and intolerant hour of the times and quietly abjured. There is really no way to know how many Huguenot soldiers actually stayed in the army. Assuming that up to 30,000 left France to join other armies and that the army in 1684 stood at about 165,807 men, that would have reduced it to about 135,000. But the military exodus did not all happen in a single year so the effect would have been less acute, especially as war clouds were looming larger and men were being actively recruited into the army, which would become, within a few years, more numerous than ever before at 446,000 men.[14]

In spite of losing thousands of officers and men, there was no major or even minor impact on the cohesion and effectiveness of the Sun King's army. Its higher command system was fully operational and morale was obviously intact. That the King's decision to annul the Edict of Nantes was, in the long run, a great error is obvious. It was decried everywhere outside of France in vehement terms and would continue to be condemned for the sake of humane respect to all individuals for centuries to come. But, it must also be observed that, at the time, the French nation as a whole as well as its army obviously approved in one way or another the King's decision. Intolerance most vile it was. Sadly, intolerance and bigotry is never confined to one nation.

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[13] André Corvisier, 'L'aqueduc de Maintenon: Mythes et réalités', *Bulletin de la Société archéologique d'Eure et Loir*, No. 63 (1999), pp.1–20.

[14] ANF, G7/1774 Extraordinaire des Guerre 1683–1699. Etat des Troupes que le Roy à eu sur pied et leur depense, years 1684 and 1692; Parsons, *Studies in Church History*, Vol. 4, p.278.

2

Great Britain Joins Europe

"King William and the Protestant Cause!" This old toast, which can start fights in pubs even today, certainly originated in 1688. At that time, internal politics in England were in something of a turmoil with part of its overwhelmingly Protestant population suspecting King James II of plotting, with the help of Louis XIV, the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic church as the state religion. Whatever there was such a plot actually being schemed or not can be debated, but the political effect of this situation caused considerable simmer in the hearts and minds of a lot of people in England; everyone had heard of what French dragoons had done to Protestants in France and no one wished them to stage a repeat performance across the Channel.[1]

Certainly, King James II may have had good intentions, but almost everything he did in the second half of the 1680s contributed to make the English public think that a Catholic plot was indeed true. There were attempts to replace Protestants with Catholics in the army and, from 1686, some 300 officers and 4,000 enlisted men out of 7,000 in Ireland had been dismissed to be replaced by Irish Catholics. Many of the dismissed went to the Netherlands. When this was extended to regiments in England, popular sentiment against King James was further enhanced during 1687 and 1688. An example was when the young Duke of Berwick sought to bring into his regiment Irish recruits and its officers disagreed, the whole affair became a state crisis when the upset King had six officers tried and cashiered. The result was that the "guilty" officers were lauded and praised by the people right across England. It must be recalled here that many Englishmen considered the Irish as "aliens and enemies" to quote Sir John Fortescue. Clearly, with that and other dubious measures such as the June 1688 jailing of seven Church of England bishops in the Tower of London for not agreeing to a suspension of penal laws concerning Catholics, public anger was exacerbated. The bishops were released on 30 June, but King James had

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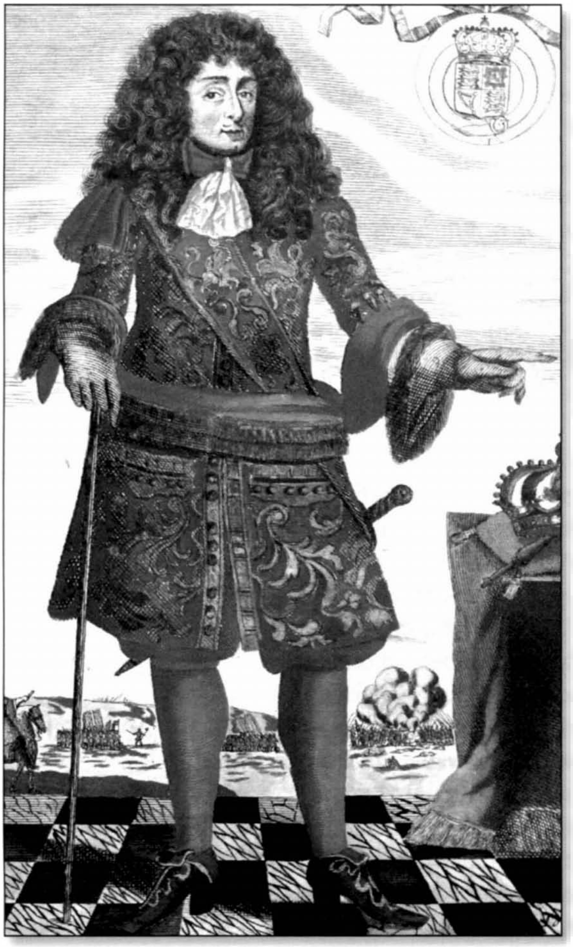
[1] This part on the Glorious Revolution is mainly from John W. Fortescue, *A History of the British Army* (London: Macmillan, 1899), Vol. 1, chapter 1; Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James II*, Vol. 3, chapters 9 and 10; John Childs, *The Nine Years' War and the British Army 1688-1697. The Operations in the Low Countries* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), chapter 1; *History of the Life and Reign of William III, King of England, Prince of Orange and Honorary Stadtholder of the United Provinces* (London: Marsh and Davies, c. 1702), books IV and V.



King James II, *c.* 1690. (Anonymous contemporary French print. Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library, Providence, RI, USA. Author's photo)

accomplished a public relations disaster. England's overwhelmingly Protestant population as well as its army and navy were becoming desperate about their sovereign. There were even rumours, not totally unfounded, that the Sun King in France was secretly lurking behind with encouragement and money. James II had to go, but who could replace him?

For a growing number of Englishmen, the answer was Prince William of Orange, Stadtholder of the Netherlands, fiercest opponent to Louis XIV, faithful Protestant, married since 1677 to Mary, daughter of King James II who was thus his father-in-law. His English connection was even stronger because his mother was Mary, the Princess Royal, eldest daughter of King Charles I of Great Britain who had been executed in 1649 by Oliver Cromwell. William was thus unlikely to turn into a rigorous Puritan, which must have been a relief to most Englishmen. He had received overtures from several English noblemen in early 1688, accepted the challenge of such a move and started preparing very discreetly an invasion of England. The whole strategy resided in that James II had become so unpopular and untrustworthy that the whole country would rally to William of Orange. It took some time for King James II to realise that something really dangerous was being prepared by his son-in-law. He sought to reinforce the army to as many as 40,000 men to meet the invasion, but the military worth of part of these troops was doubtful because many were recently enlisted. Furthermore, the political support for James II of large numbers of officers and men in the British army was in doubt.

Glorious Revolution 1688

In the Netherlands meanwhile, William gathered a force of some 3,660 cavalry and 10,692 infantry being nearly half of the Dutch army. It also included many English noblemen and senior officers, the Scots Brigade in Dutch service and Huguenots such as "Marshal Schomberg, with his Son, M. La Caillemote, and 2[00] or 300 French Officers, who had left their Country upon the Score of their Religion, had likewise a Share in this Protestant Expedition." On 2 November 1688, the expedition sailed.[2]

There was no naval opposition and, from 15 November, William and his troops landed at Torbay in England still unopposed. Hearing of this, Louis XIV

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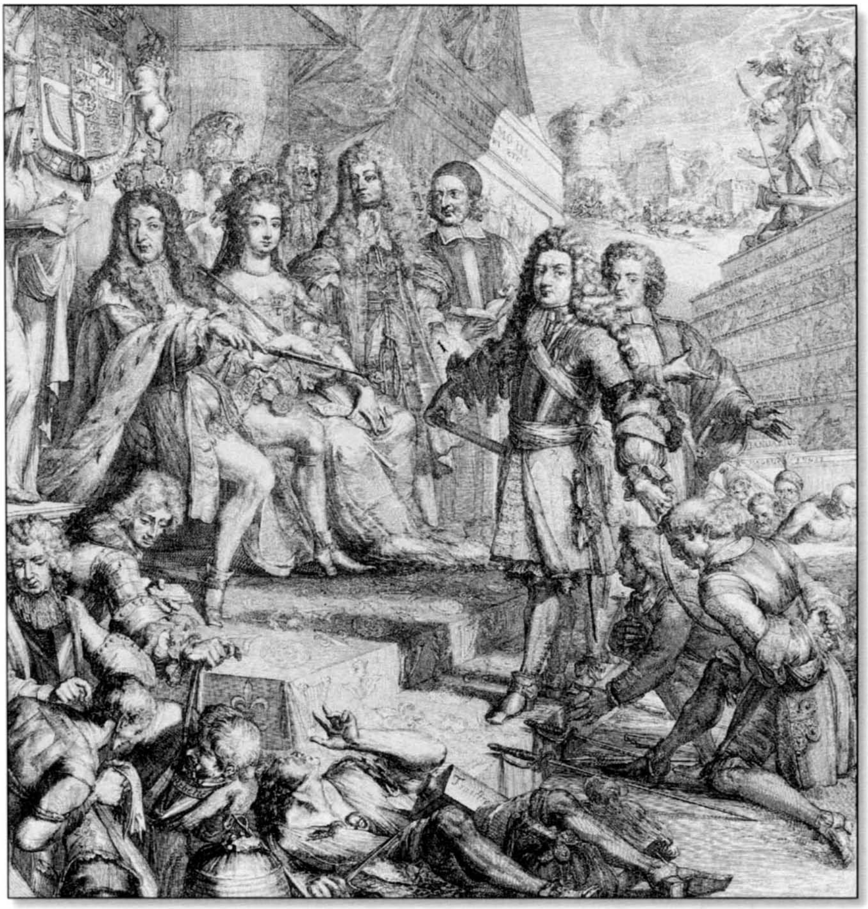
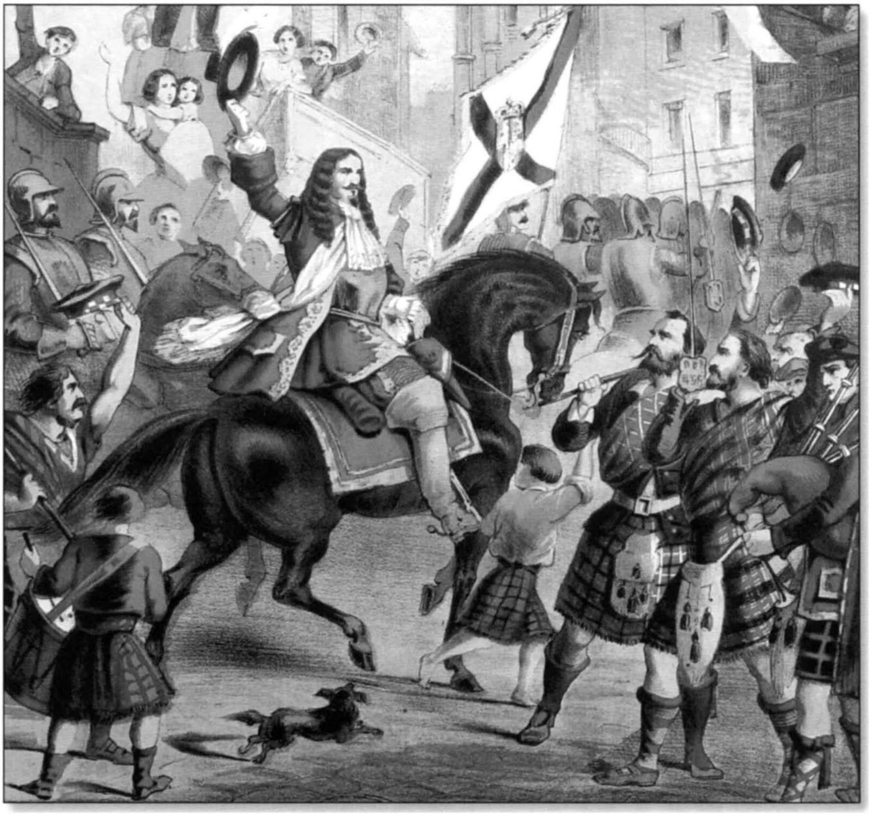
[2] *History of the Life and Reign of William III*, p.204.



King William III and Queen Mary of England shown in an allegoric print of around June 1689. Standing before them is Marshal Schomberg with officers bringing vanquished "rebels" to approving courtiers. On a pedestal at right is Louis XIV with a distraught Ottoman sultan. (Print after Jan van Vianen. Courtesy Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. RP-P-OB-67.725)

proposed a French expedition to help James II who wisely turned it down surely knowing that if he agreed, every Englishman of any faith would be against him and, besides, such a force would take many weeks to organise. Meanwhile, as William cautiously marched towards London, the towns and countryside rallied to his troops as liberators. By early December it was clear that William had provoked a successful "Glorious Revolution" and, on 10 December, the Queen and the Prince of Wales were taken to France by the Marquis de Lauzun, the rather extraordinary courtier-soldier who was an adviser to James II. The following week saw much unrest in London as well as the army and the Royal Navy rallying to William while many were putting orange ribbons on their hats to greet William when he entered London on 18 December. On 23 December, James II left for France. After political negotiations, William and Mary were crowned King and Queen of England and Ireland on 11 April 1690 and accepted the crown of Scotland on 11 May. The Prince of Orange was now King William III.

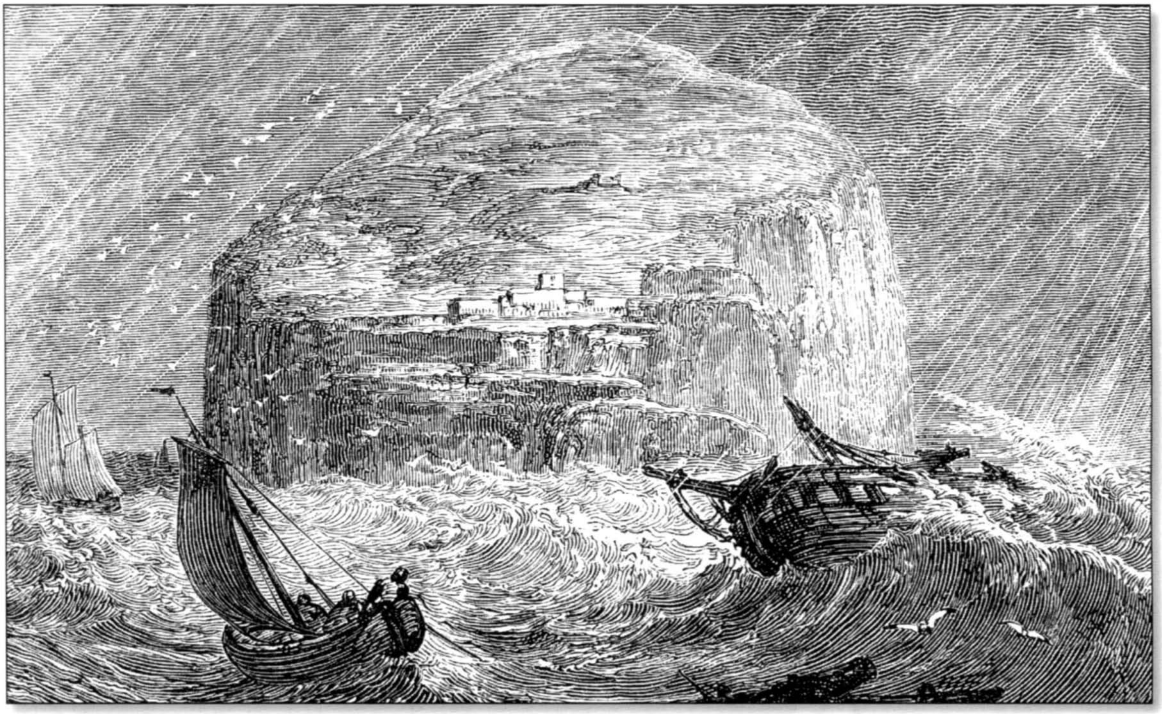


Bonnie Dundee rallying the Scots Highlanders, 1689. This print after A. Bigot was published in about 1870 in New York and Montreal as a cover for the "Bonnie Dundee Quadrille" music score undoubtedly intended for the large Scottish diaspora in those cities. Authenticity of what is shown may be a bit imaginary, but it seems to show the spirit of the times. (Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library, Providence, RI, USA. Author's photo)

The Scottish Highland Jacobite Revolt 1689

While England and lowland Scotland had rallied to the new sovereigns, the partly Catholic Scottish Highlanders remained largely Jacobite. "Dutch William" had not been especially diplomatic with Scots in general and Highlanders in particular. To quote Macaulay: "When the English condescended to think of him [the Highlander] at all, and it was seldom that they did so, they considered him as a filthy abject savage, a slave, a Papist, a cutthroat, and a thief." This was a far cry from the romantic vision of the Highlands that evolved in the nineteenth century. In 1689, John Graham, 1st Viscount Dundee also called "Bonnie Dundee" raised the standard of revolt in the Highlands to restore James VII (James II in England) to the throne of Scotland and occupied Edinburgh castle. No doubt, there were hopes that the "Auld Alliance" with France would bring assistance. The revolt was initially successful against a British force at Killiecrankie on 27 July 1689. The Highlanders there "fired, threw down their fusils, rushed upon the enemy, with sword, target and pistol, who did not maintain their ground two minutes after the Highlanders were amongst them; and I dare be bold to say, there were scarce ever such strokes given in Europe, as that day by the Highlanders", but the victory was paid for dearly by Lord Dundee being killed in the battle.

Less than a month later, on 21 August, the Highlanders were defeated at Dunkeld by a smaller force consisting mainly of a newly raised Scottish regiment in government service, the Cameronians, effectively ending the



The Bass Rock in the Firth of Forth, Scotland. From 1689 it was held against all odds by a small but resolute garrison of loyal Jacobite officers and men, who foiled all attempts of British troops to capture the island fort until 20 April 1694 when it marched out with the honours of war. (Private collection. Author's photo)

uprising. No expeditionary corps could ever have reached Scotland from France in time if such a forlorn hope attempt had ever been seriously envisaged. Little was actually known in France of the 1689 events in Scotland until Colin, Earl of Balcarres presented detailed reports to James II at the palace of Saint-Germain-en-Laye. For the Sun King, the prospect of a Scottish front to occupy English troops was never quite forgotten.

As it was, Admiral Duquesne's warships sailed off the Scottish coast and some French corsairs might lurk by. In early 1692, French corsairs even brought food and ammunition to a Jacobite garrison that had held the fort on the island of Bass Rock since June 1689. The resolute small garrison of loyal Jacobite officers and men foiled all attempts of British troops to take the island fort in the Firth of Forth, which was a really a sheer cliff rock some 420 feet (128 m) high which was never captured by an assault. Ultimately, the garrison obtained the conditions it demanded including its back pay for the last four years, which was accordingly done and, on 20 April 1694, it marched out with the honours of war. They had obviously impressed the men who blockaded them for so long. For King William, it was worth the back pay to at last bring down King James' flag from the last Jacobite fort in the British Isles.[3]

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[3] John Graham, 1st Viscount Dundee, 'Memoirs of the Lord Viscount Dundee', in *Miscellanea Scotica* (Glasgow: John Wylie & Co., 1820), pp.19–20; Francisque-Michel, *Les Écossais en France, les Français* en Écosse (Paris: A. Frank, 1862), Vol. 2, pp.382–383, 390–391; Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James II*, Vol. 3, p.282. His rather disparaging description of Highlanders and their lifestyle and society should be tempered with the classic work by Frank Adams and Thomas Innes of Learney, *The Clans, Septs, and Regiments of the Scottish Highlands* (Edinburgh, 1908 and many subsequent editions); James Grant, *British Battles on Land and Sea* (London: Cassell, 1888), Vol. 1, pp.404–407.

3

The Irish Tragedy

On 23 December 1688, a courier arrived at the French court bearing a dispatch from the Marquis de Lauzun that he had landed at Calais with the Queen of England and the Prince of Wales, whom he had successfully managed to secretly bring out of England and across the Channel on a yacht. The Sun King was so pleased at this news that he wrote with his own hand at once to Lauzun who was soon fully back in his favour. This was followed by the news on 5 January that James II, King of England, had landed near Boulogne two days earlier with his "natural" son the Duc de Berwick. On 7 January 1689, James and Louis met at the palace of Saint-Germain-en-Laye with great joy and relief, the Sun King saying: "Monsieur my brother, I am so happy to see you here! I am overjoyed to see you safe." The next day James II was invited to Versailles with his family, where he received all the honours due to a King by the royal guard. The Sun King granted them the palace of Saint-Germain-en-Laye as their own to lodge and hold their court and, in due course, be the headquarters of the armies of the exiled royal family of Great Britain. This proved to be crucial in the months and years to come.[1]

The Stuart royal family had basically lost the loyalty and esteem of the populations in England and part of Scotland, but certainly not the regard of most people in Ireland. This was due to the resistance by most Irishmen to change their Roman Catholic religion and many of their ways as well as resentment for their gradual descent into pauperism that had been going on for generations due to various restrictive measures imposed by the English governments. Amongst these was the forced seizure of land belonging to the Catholic Irish gentry that was offered as encouragement for Protestant settlers to come from England and Scotland to Ireland, most of which established themselves in the north-east. The rest of the country was also subject to land seizures that were set up as counties with fiefdoms divided up amongst Protestant noblemen with Catholics becoming nearly like landless serfs provoking frequent uprisings that were brutally suppressed.

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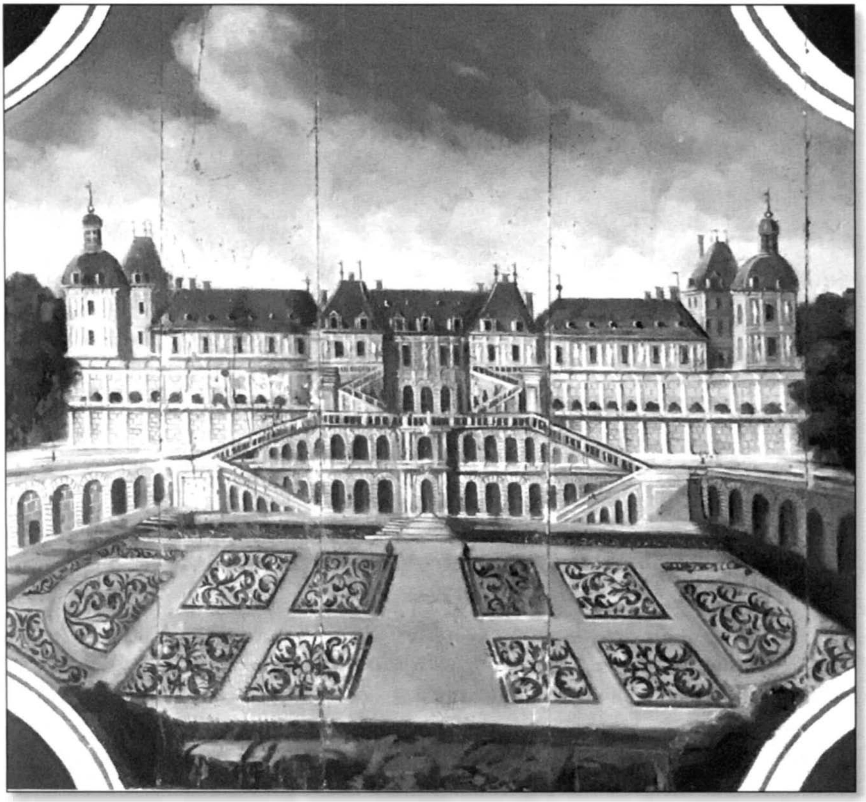
[1] Louis-François du Bouchet, Marquis de Sourches, *Mémoires du Marquis de Sourches sur le règne de Louis XIV*, G-J de Cosnac, ed. (Paris: Hachette, 1882–1892), Vol. 2, pp.313–314, Vol. 3, pp.5, 8–9. The Sun King further gave the royal couple 16,000 Louis d'or to settle immediate expenses and a budget for the upkeep of the court and of its government services and troops.



The royal palace of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, late seventeenth century. When King James II, his family and many loyal followers arrived in France, the Sun King greeted them warmly and gave the palace of Saint-Germain-en-Laye as a suitable setting for the court of King James, and it also was the headquarters of his army in France. (Unsigned contemporary painting. Château de Bussy-Rabutin, Burgundy. Author's photo)

A stark example was that, in 1641, Catholics owned about 60 percent of the land in Ireland, but this had been reduced to nine percent by 1660. It rose again to 20 percent following the 1660 Restoration with the 1662 and 1665 Settlement Acts brought in by King Charles II in an effort to give some hope to the majority of Irishmen, but this did not last. Incredibly, all this was going on in a country where the proportion of Catholics to Protestants was reckoned to be six to one. When King James II came on the throne in 1685, there were about 2,000,000 people in Ireland. Towns tended to be demographically divided along religious lines: Protestants inside the wall and Catholics outside. The latter also formed the bulk of the peasants working the land and on the whole, they were the least prosperous. There were already sustained tensions between the two communities and the appointment of Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnell (1630–1691) as commander-in-chief and virtual governor general of Ireland fanned an already lit fire. He was openly pro-Catholic, opposed legislation favouring Protestant settlers, replaced thousands of Protestant soldiers in the troops in Ireland with Catholic officers and men and generally sought, in rather questionable ways, to sustain the Catholic majority's favour, which now solidly supported King James II. Protestants in Ireland were close to revolt as were a great many people in England who simply wanted James to go. Thus, Ireland in 1688 was practically sitting on a volcano of tensions.[2]

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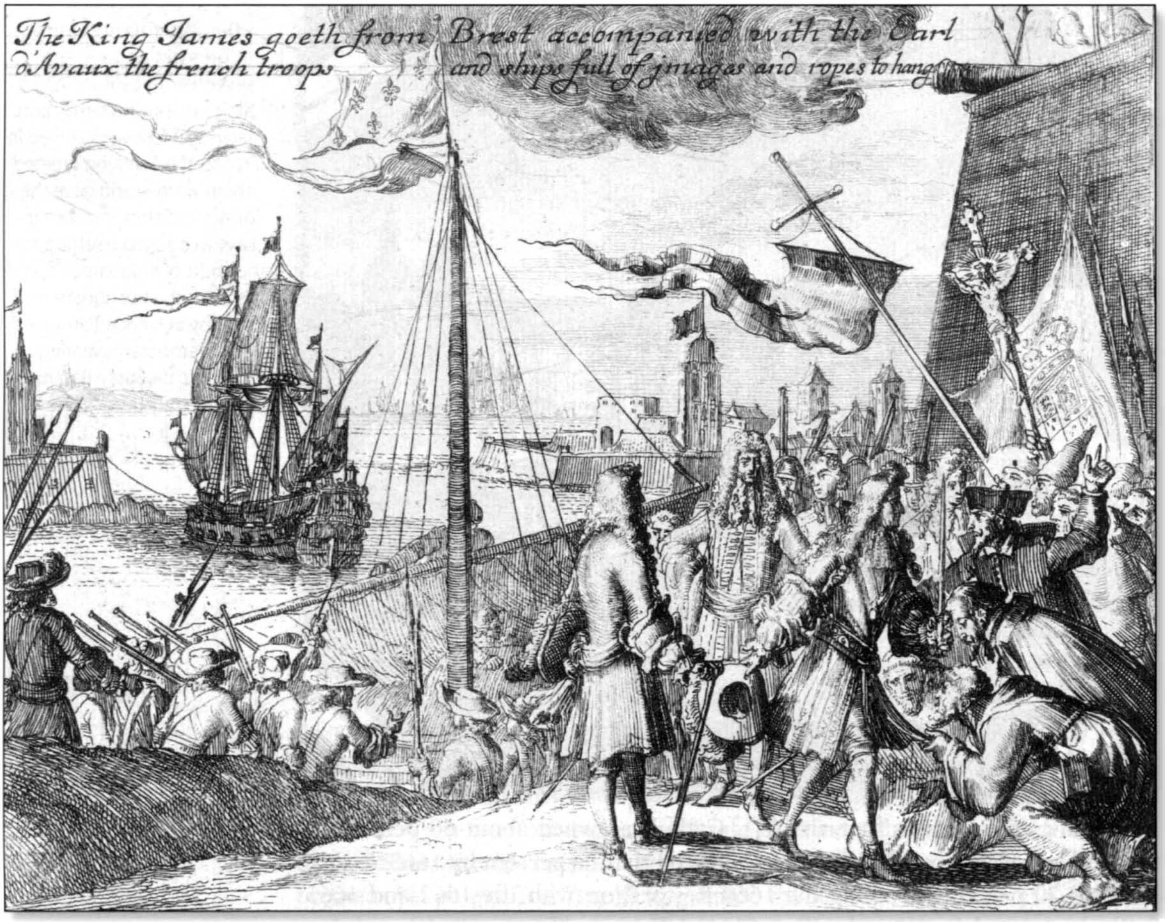
[2] Foster, *Modern Ireland*, pp.115–116, 155; O'Callaghan, *History of the Irish Brigades*, p.258. Population proportions from a 1705 petition to the Dublin Parliament. Following the 1688–


The King James goeth from Brest accompanied with the Earl
d'Avaux the french troops and ships full of jmagas and ropes to hang

"The King James [II] goeth from Brest [France] accompanied with the Earl of d'Avaux, the French troops and ships full of images and ropes to hang", March 1689. James actually brought with him money, arms and ammunition for 10,000 men, about 100 French officers to be cadres for the Irish levies as well as about 1,200 Irishmen, but no French battalions. (Anonymous Dutch propaganda print. Courtesy Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. RP-P-OB-82.619)

Jacobite Troops and French Military Advisers

In Ireland, the future battle lines were drawn: Protestants for William and Catholics for Charles. Lord Tyrconnell now had only one option: raise a sizeable Irish army to be able to resist the British army that inevitably would, sooner or later, come to rescue the Protestant levies in the north and invade the rest of the country. At the end of January 1689 Tyrconnell may have gathered as many as 40,000 men, but they were overwhelmingly inexperienced as soldiers, untrained, badly armed if armed at all, equally badly equipped, and unpaid. These enthusiastic but hopelessly unsuitable volunteers were destitute of arms, supplies, clothing and, most of all, military training. The Catholic officers and men recently incorporated by Tyrconnell were still new to the theories and realities of soldiering. Furthermore, Ireland had no capacity to produce large numbers of small arms and ordnance.[3]

Lord Tyrconnell's only support could come from France and calls for help reached Versailles. If the Sun King and his government agreed to do something,

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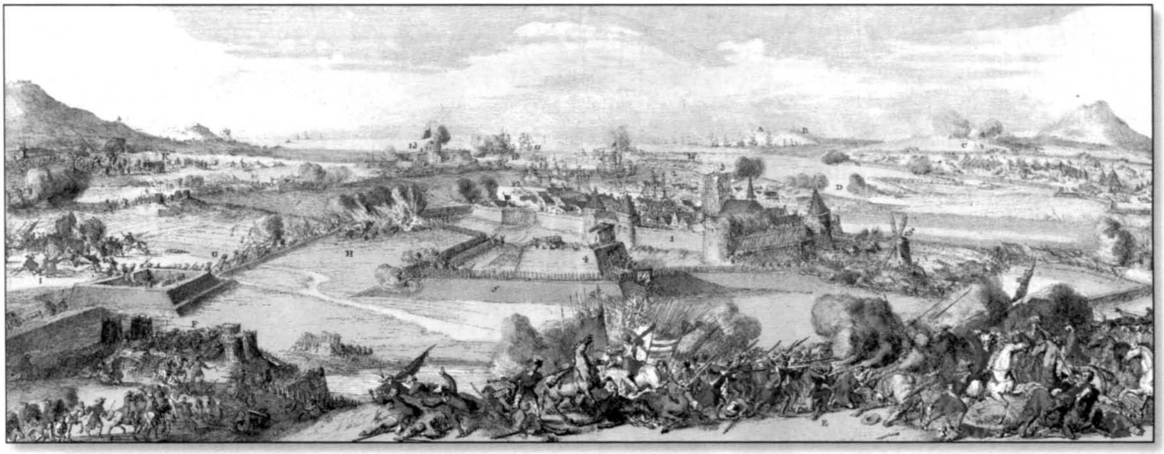
1691 Glorious Revolution and the war in Ireland, the proportion went back down to 14 percent in 1703 and slid to a mere five percent by the mid eighteenth century.

[3] Foster, *Modern Ireland*, pp.143–144.



Londonderry (or Derry) during the 1689 siege. The city is at the centre with various actions to secure the outworks around it. (Print after Romeyn de Hooghe. Courtesy Rijskmuseum, Amsterdam. RP-P-OB-79.467)

that meant the powerful French navy could patrol sea lanes between the Continent and Ireland's east coast, bringing supplies and possibly other help reasonably safely. At that point, King James II in France decided to rally the Irish. If he could crush the British in Ireland, he thought he even might have a chance to drive William out. A strong French squadron of some 28 warships escorting merchant ships arrived in the Irish Sea in early March. On 12 March 1689 King James II landed at Kinsale from the French fleet. He brought with him money, arms and ammunition for 10,000 men, about 100 French officers including Lieutenant General Conrad, Marquis de Rosen to be cadres for the Irish levies as well as about 1,200 Irishmen, but no battalions of French troops. There would have been no time to gather and equip properly such a French force. In the event, this was also a time when the French army was mustering for warfare in Continental Europe on several fronts.[4]

The French army's presence was thus more as advisers and furnishing logistical support rather than a real military regular force. King James' Irish army was an overwhelmingly ragged, badly armed gathering of largely illiterate peasants brought together by hope. They were numerous and about 20,000, besieged Londonderry (or Derry) where many Protestants had sought refuge and raised eight embodied militia regiments for a garrison of some 7,000 men. From 18 April, the city's garrison, which was generally better armed than its foes, offered a gallant and at times heroic resistance. Food in Londonderry became very scarce and rations were minuscule, but,

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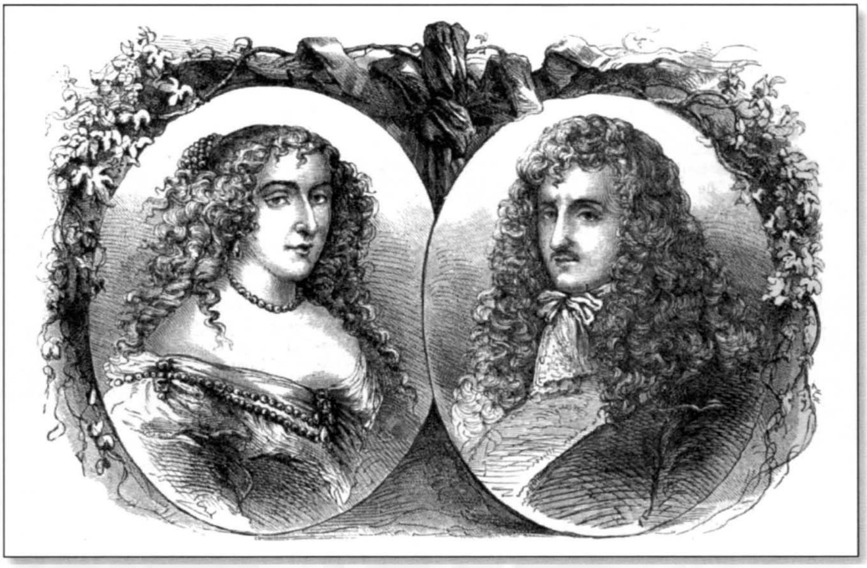
[4] Edmund Curtis, *A History of Ireland* (London: Methuen & Co., 1936) p.266; Grant, *British Battles on Land and Sea*, Vol. 1, pp.393–394. William Francis Collier, *History of Ireland for Schools* (London: Marcus Ward, 1886), p.158; O. Cockayne, *Outlines of the History of Ireland* (London: Parker, 1851), p.82 mentions that Louis XIV 'would have supplied troops', but James declined them, saying he would 'recover his dominions by the assistance of his own subjects, or perish in the attempt' which is unrealistic if not altogether impossible insofar as assembling a sizeable army corps and all that it must have in barely a month before sailing. Rosen was to command the Irish levies assisted by staff officers: Major General de Maumont acting as lieutenant general, brigadiers Pusignan and Léry to be major generals, guards Capt. Boisselot to be major general and Gardes du Corps ensign L'Estrade to be responsible for cavalry as per James Fitz-James, Duc de Berwick, *Mémoires du maréchal de Berwick* (Paris: Hachette, 1872), p.30. Berwick was amongst the officers and was assigned to the staff as major general under Lieutenant General Richard Hamilton.



At left, La Grande Mademoiselle, and at right Antonin Nomparde Caumont, Marquis de Puyguilhelm et de Lauzun, c. 1689. These enfants terrible of the Sun King's entourage could enrage as well as endear their royal master. She was a royal cousin of the King, possibly Europe's wealthiest heiress and was madly in love with Lauzun. He was an outstandingly brilliant courtier with a mind of his own, which earned him time in jail as well as great honours. He even had the British Order of the Garter bestowed by King Charles II on 25 February 1689 for having arranged the successful escape from England of the Queen and the young Prince of Wales. He later commanded the French expeditionary corps in Ireland, where he showed no talents as a senior military officer. See also: Volume 1, Chapters 1 and 5, and Chapter 14 of this volume. (Private collection. Author's photo)

probably fearing a massacre, the garrison refused to capitulate even when many perished of starvation or sickness, besides in combat repelling many assaults as well as enduring bombardments. On 30 July two British ships laden with supplies, food and ammunition managed to break the blockade, and with that the Jacobite army withdrew after 102 days of siege.

Other Jacobite army attempts on Protestant areas also met with failure while James II, wearing his crown and robes, opened the Irish Parliament in Dublin on 7 May 1689, a few days after 1 May when the French navy had averted a British navy attempt to intercept a supply convoy in Bantry Bay. More challenges were in store for the Jacobite Irish. On 13 June some 20,000 British troops landed at Bangor under Marshal Schomberg and quickly took Carrickfergus. The Irish Jacobite troops gradually lost areas thereafter until both armies took their winter quarters while Lieutenant General Rosen went back to France to "his contentment as well as that of all the officers of the [Jacobite] army who could not suffer" his bad temper. In the spring of 1690, the superior British forces prevailed. On 14 June 1690, King William III arrived in Ireland in person to oversee strategic operations.[5]

The 1690 French Expeditionary Corps

The notion to send an expeditionary corps to assist the Irish was dear to the heart of the Sun King who sought a way to help James II. In spite of public declarations, such assistance does not seem to have had much to do with religion. It was certainly more as a geostrategic move by Louis XIV to keep as many of William III's troops as possible in Britain and Ireland instead of having them deploy in Flanders and other places in Continental Europe. This does not appear to have been, from a pragmatic point a view, a

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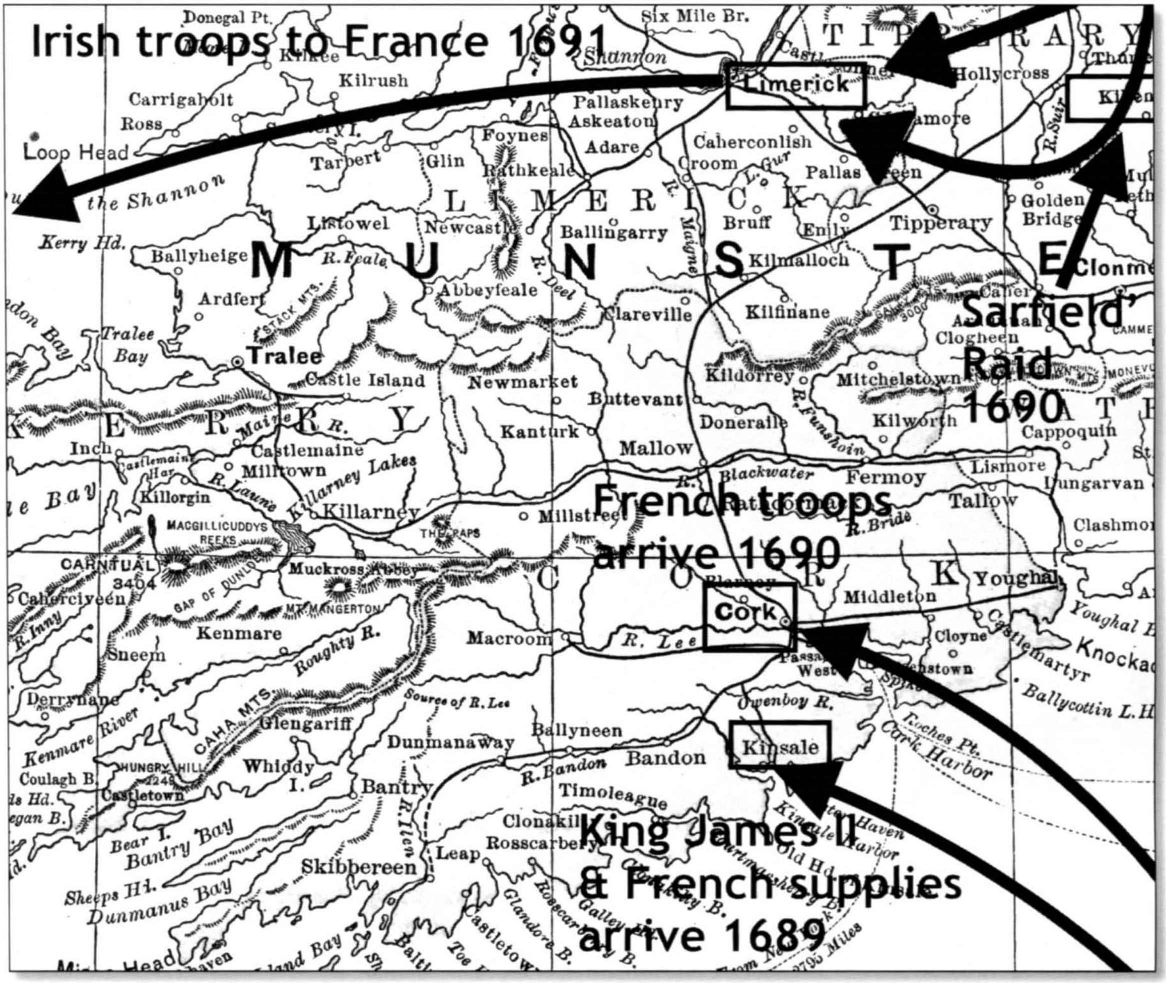
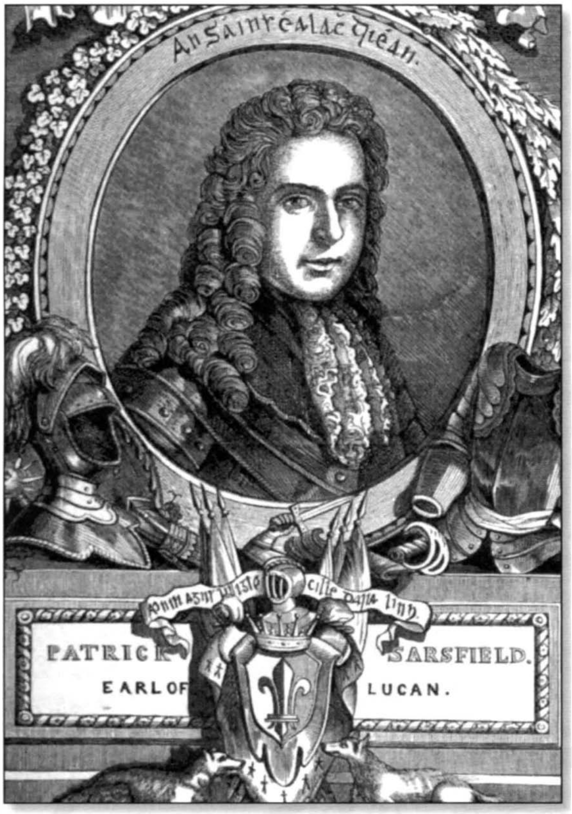
[5] Berwick, *Mémoires*, p.40.


Irish troops to France 1691
Limerick
Sarfield' Raid 1690
French troops arrive 1690
Cork
Kinsale
King James II & French supplies arrive 1689
M U N S T E R
Loop Head
Tralee
Killarney
Bantry Bay
Tipperary

Map of southern Ireland, late 1680s and early 1690s. The main event in this part of the country are shown. Bantry Bay, site of the naval battle, is at lower left. (Private collection. Author's photo)

very popular endeavour amongst the French senior command. For all their courage and sizeable numbers, the vast majority of the Jacobite Irish levies were not known to be especially versed in the military arts and soldiering. Yet they would now be facing a numerous, well led, well trained and well supplied force that had a large cadre of battle-tested troops and it was near to England, its main source of supply and reinforcements. The Irish could only count on France, which was far away. Furthermore, the combination of the British and the Dutch navies required a very strong naval force to bring a French expeditionary corps, and there were practical limits on how large it could be and concerns regarding its fate should it be cut off. Even if the French army was very numerous, could it really afford to lose many thousands of men in an expedition that, if it failed, would be interpreted by the public as a needless forlorn hope and a waste of good soldiers?

Be it as it may, as early as October 1689, Louis XIV was making plans to "send M. de Lauzun … as a lieutenant general and that he would give him 8,000 men to command, that is to say 6,000 French and about 2,000 English or Irish that were assembled on the [French] coast", according to the Marquis


PATRICK SARSFIELD.
EARL OF LUCAN.

Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan. *c.* 1690. This Irish general (*c.* 1655–1693) was in the French army under Marshal Turenne in 1672–1675, later served in the British army and remained loyal to King James II in 1688. He was one of the better officers of the Irish Jacobite army and took part in several engagements. In October 1691 he negotiated the Treaty of Limerick, which resulted in the Irish troops' evacuation to France. He was later a Maréchal de Camp (major-general) in the French army, fought at Steenkirk and was mortally wounded at Neerwinden. (Print in O'Callaghan's ***Irish Brigades***. Author's photo)

de Sourches. By late November, the planning had progressed to the point where Lauzun was to be in Brest in mid March 1690 to join the corps he was to take to Ireland. Since the Sun King wanted to go ahead and take the chance, a good way to placate critics was that Ireland should be contributing something too. Finally, a deal was struck: France would send an infantry brigade of 6,000 men from its army in return for an equal number of Irish troops that would go to France. At first glance, it seems that the Irish needed all their men to defend their own land than their fighting some Germans or Dutch in Continental Europe, but a French brigade in Ireland would also bring veteran troops and military advice from the vaunted French army.[6]

The *Mercure Galant* of March and April 1690 gave a fairly detailed account of the French expedition to Ireland. The troops had embarked at Brest on a fleet of 34 warships commanded by the Marquis d'Amfreville and sailed on 17 March, "the day of St. Patrick, which was the day that the King of England [James II] left for that kingdom [Ireland] last year." Two more ships from Rochefort and five from Toulon joined the fleet. On board were:

Famechon's (Walloon) Regt., 16 companies making "about 1,000 men"
Zurlauben's (Walloon) Regt., 16 companies making "nearly 2,000 men"
Mérode's Regt., 16 companies making 800 men
La Marche's Regt., 21 companies making 900 men
Tournaisis Regt., 21 companies making 900 men
Forez Regt., 21 companies making 900 men

For a total of 6,500 enlisted men.

There also were "a few other troops" from regiments whose names were unknown to the *Mercure Galant* reporter. The officers of the French troops amounted to 13 colonels and lieutenant colonels, 99 captains and 192 lieutenants for a total of 304 officers and grand total of French army troops of 6,804. There were also "400 Irishmen, many of them officers" and "a quantity of English and French volunteers". By just adding the 400 Irish without the "few other troops" and the volunteers, which the April issue specified as "Irish, Scottish and English troops that had left the service of the Prince of Orange to go to Ireland sustain the interests of the King of England [James II]", this came to over 7,200 officers and enlisted men.

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[6] *Mémoires du Marquis de Sourches*, Vol. 3, pp.168–169, 177. Berwick stated that Lauzun was chosen at the urging of the Queen of England at Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Berwick, *Mémoires*, p.41.

It was "impossible to describe the joy in which these troops departed. No one deserted and there were over 500 additional persons" at the boarding than had been planed. Mr. D'Aigrigny was the intendant. There were five *commissaires [des guerres]*, a lieutenant general of artillery, *commissaires* of supplies, surgeons "and everything that is necessary for an hospital. There was also 12 pieces of artillery newly cast in the Paris arsenal and 12 other pieces; 100 bombs of 120 pounds; 100 of 80 pounds; 6,000 grenades, 32,000 lead balls; 1,800 cannonballs and 160 large packages of weapons; matchlock muskets, flintlock muskets, pistols, sabres, scythes, halberds, axes and 584 large packets of matchlock fuses; 250 large packets for the army's hospital; 300 large packets of soldier's shirts; 26 packets of shoes; 637 small packages of steel and copper to make money", as well as sword cutlers, gunsmiths, masons and building artisans.[7]

The fleet arrived at Cork on 23 March 1690, Famechon's Regiment landing the next day, Zurlauben's on the 25th followed by the others until 27 March. On 18 April, the designated brigade of Irish troops in exchange boarded the French fleet and sailed for France. It was smooth sailing and the fleet arrived at Brest on 1 May. The Irish units were commanded by Lord Mountcashel, who had served in the French army, and consisted of five regiments: Dillon's, Mountcashel's, O'Brien's, Fielding's and Butler's. On 1 June, they mustered 5,371 officers, NCOs and privates. As can be seen, the French expeditionary corps numbered over 7,200 officers and men with a lot of arms and supplies also being sent. Strictly in terms of what was sent, the Sun King had exceeded the terms of the agreement.[8]

Final Campaigns in Ireland 1690–1691

Berwick mentioned that William III had 45,000 men, which is what James II and his staff believed, while the Irish with its French contingent "numbered only 23,000 men". This "great disproportion," related Berwick, "determined us to find some post to stop the Prince of Orange or at least fight him with less disadvantage", and it was decided to position the Jacobite army behind the Boyne River. By 10 July (30 June Old Style) the British army was on the spot, and had a Jacobite cannonball that grazed William III during a reconnaissance

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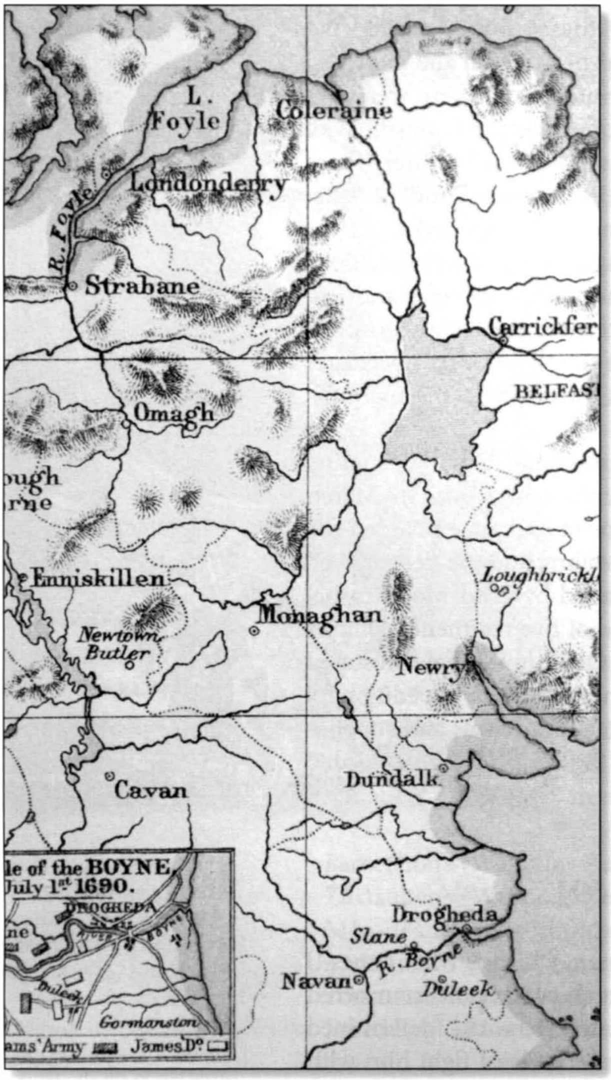
[7] The *Mercure Galant* of March 1690 errs with the names of some regiments. Famechon is given as Fimarcon, a dragoon regiment, Forez as Forest and Courvasier remains mysterious as it is not listed by Susane nor in André Corvisier's *Les contrôles de troupes*. O'Callaghan, *History of the Irish brigades*, p.8 also mentions both 'Courvassiez' and Tournaisis. The April 1690 *Mercure Galant* lists Tournaisis instead of Courvasier. Ministère de la Guerre, *Inventaire sommaire des archives historiques* (Paris, 1898), Vol. 1, pp.182–183 confirms that the March issue was in error. Charles Sevin, Marquis de Quincy, *Histoire militaire du règne de Louis le Grand, roi de France* (Paris, 1726), Vol. 2, p.315 gives the same information as the *Mercure Galant* of March 1690. The April issue also mentions supplies for cavalry. As for Susane, *Histoire de l'infanterie française*, Vol. 5, p.312, it does not mention Ireland and puts Tournaisis at the Alps in 1689 and at the battle of Staffarde in 1690. This appears to be a confusion with Touraine which was not at Staffarde in 1690 but was at Marsaglia in 1693 as per Quincy, *Histoire militaire*, Vol. 2, pp.297, 685.

[8] Malagutti, *Historique du 87e régiment d'infanterie* (Saint-Quentin: Moureau, 1892), p.4; *Mémoires du Marquis de Sourches*, Vol. 3, p.234 mentions 5,500 Irishmen.



Map of north-eastern Ireland, 1689–1690. Londonderry is at top, the Boyne at lower right. (Private collection. Author's photo).

been a few centimetres closer, history would have taken a different course. As it was, he was strong enough to hold a war council that night, which decided to attempt fording the river. The uniforms and clothing in both armies had men wearing red, grey, blue or brown so, to distinguish friend from foe, every British soldier had "a green bough, or sprig, fastened in his hat to distinguish him from the Irish [and presumably the French], who wore bits of white paper".[9]

The French account of the Battle of the Boyne is given below as related in the Marquis de Quincy's contemporary military history, which could be said to be the semi-official version:[10]

> The Prince of Orange [William III], having under his command Marshal Schomberg, resolved to cross the Boyne River before the army of the King of England [James II], confident the superiority of his troops, either in numbers or in quality. He went in person to reconnoitre the [river's] fords and crossings. It was on this occasion that he was wounded by a cannonball that grazed his shoulder, but did not prevent him from taking action. The following day [11 July 1690], he proceeded to the river's ford that Marshal Schomberg started to cross with the cavalry at the head of which he beat eight squadrons of the army of the King of England [James II]. He [Schomberg] took the royal army [of James II] on its flank. All that of the Prince of Orange crossed [the river], and was at the right while the left wing charged vigorously. The Irish infantry broke [ranks] in a manner that it could not be rallied. The [Irish] cavalry kept fighting for sometime, but finally ceded and the King of England [James II] abandoned [the prospect of] victory. His army was routed and pursued into the night. The Earl of Tyrconnell and the Count of Lauzun did on this occasion all that could be expected from the best generals. However, except for the troops that the King of France had sent, this whole army was only made up of militias and of levies which faced an entire army of regular troops. [...] Marshal Schomberg was killed [during the battle] by a sabre blow and a pistol shot by a few guards of the King of England [James II].

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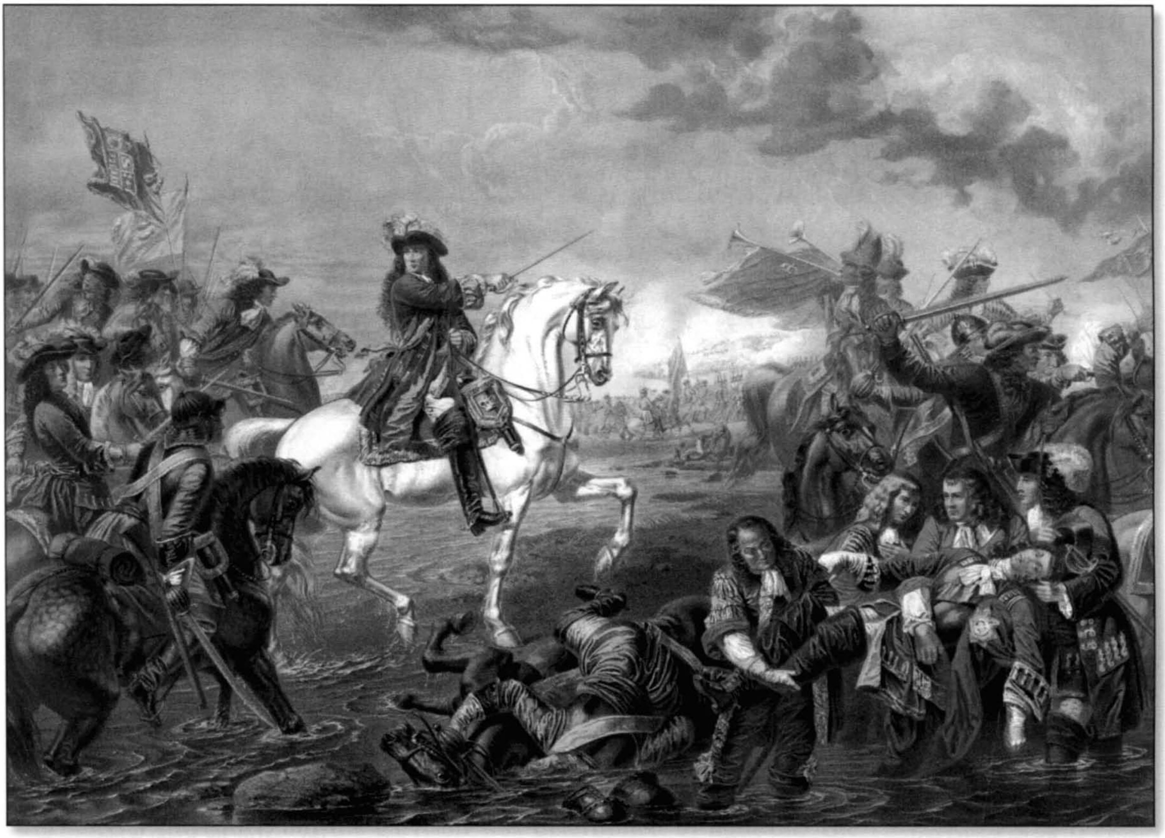
[9] Berwick, *Mémoires*, p.44. The following pages have his account of the battle; Rowland Broughton-Mainwaring, *Historical Records of the Royal Welch Fusiliers* (London: Hatchards, 1889), p.6.

[10] Quincy, *Histoire militaire*, Vol. 3, p.339. French sources give the date of the Battle of the Boyne as 11 July according the New Style Gregorian calendar now universally used. Many anglophone sources give the date 1 July according to the Old Style Julian calendar used officially in Britain until 1752.



The Battle of the Boyne, 11 July 1690. William III is shown leading the troops. Marshal Schomberg (lower right) is carried from the field mortally wounded. (Print after Benjamin West. Courtesy Library of Congress, Washington)

Other accounts are not so glowing insofar as Lauzun's performance that day and during the whole campaign. In spite of his normally strong personality, he seems to have been overwhelmed by Tyrconnell and James II. Thus, the Jacobite army was led by men who never really had senior army command experience before; they faced William III and Schomberg who had. Berwick, who was also present, recalled that:

> [if Lauzun] had ever known anything about making war, he had totally forgotten it. On the day of the Boyne, being with him when the enemy crossed the river, he told me that we had to attack them; but, in his search for a battlefield, he gave time to the enemy to form [its army] in the plain, after which it could not be charged. He showed no capacity nor resolution in Ireland although, in other quarters, it was stressed that he was personally very brave.[11]

On 7 August 1690, Lauzun's ADC, the young Marquis de Tressant, reached Versailles with fresh news of the expeditionary corps in Ireland, which was now estimated to be at about 4,500 men and that Lord Tyrconnell

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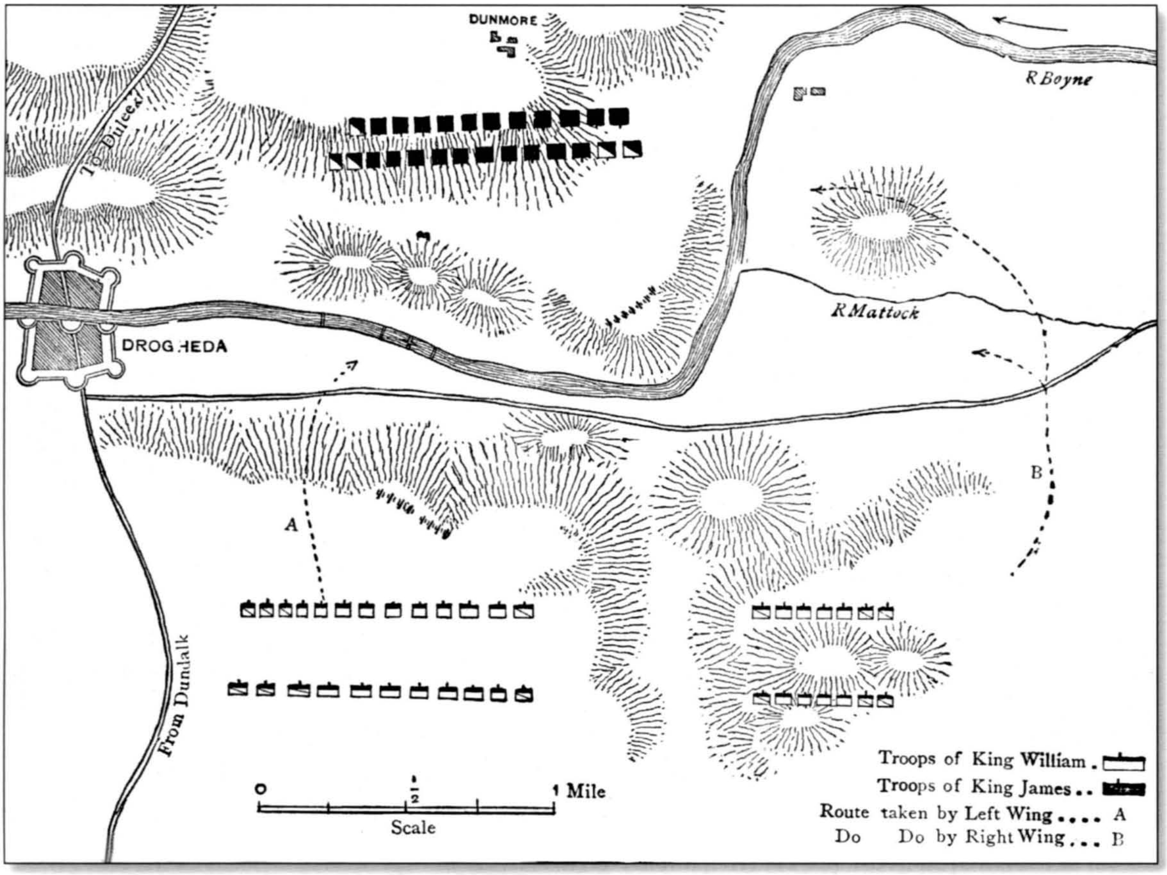
[11] Berwick, *Mémoires*, p.53. The remark regarding the good behaviour of the French regiments at the Battle of the Boyne is supported by Captain Jacques Joseph Chevalier d'Urban of the Tournaisis Regiment who was noted for his distinguished conduct during the retreat as per M. de Saint-Allais, *Nobilitaire universel de France* (Paris, 1875), Vol. 9, p.299.



Plan of the Battle of the Boyne, 11 July 1690. As shown, William and Schomberg effected a flanking movement while Tyrconnell and Lauzun seemingly hesitated. (Private collection. Author's photo)

had some 4,000 Irish infantry and 3,000 cavalry and dragoons and was rallying more. Lauzun probably suspected or had been secretly told that if James II was defeated, the French corps was to evacuate and it had been gathered in Galway ready to board d'Amfreville's squadron that soon arrived. However, by 26 August, he had not received formal instructions by the King as to such an evacuation and did not board the fleet. It consisted of six ships of the line, 13 frigates and 22 transport vessels. Word was finally received and the troops boarded the ships, but bad weather then delayed the sailing of the fleet. The weather eventually cleared up and all landed in France, Lauzun arriving at the palace of Fontainebleau on 18 October to report to the King who received him coldly. He had lost royal favour yet again.[12]

Meanwhile, Tyrconnell had gathered some 18,000 to 20,000 Irish levies. On 19 August 1690, William and his army arrived on the outskirts of Limerick and summoned the city to surrender, which was turned down by Major General Boisselot. His garrison came to "about 20,000 men, of which no more than half was armed", related Berwick who led another corps of

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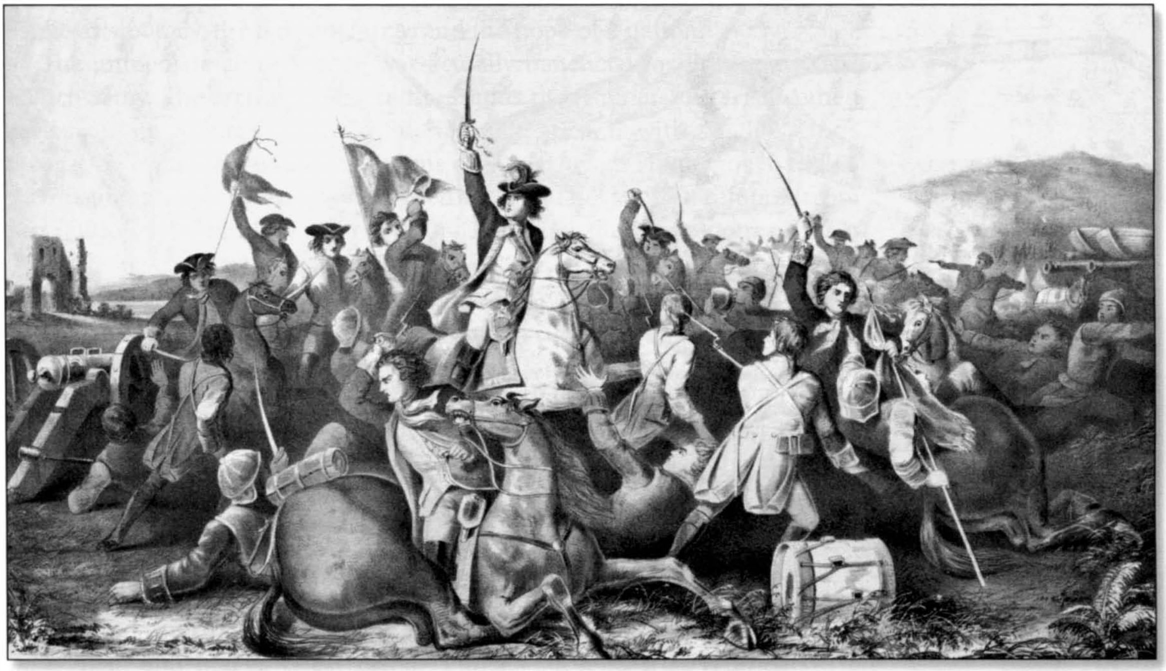
[12] *Mémoires du Marquis de Sourches*, Vol. 3, pp.279, 293–294, 309. Sourches was told that one of Tyrconnell's nephews named Chevalier Duc, who was a captain in Tyrconnell's Cavalry Regiment, had slain Schomberg with a pistol shot and two sword blows, but that he [Chevalier Duc] had been killed two hours later. Tyrconnell sent his wife to France after the defeat.



Patrick Sarsfield's Irish troops attack King William III's siege artillery train at Killenamona, near Limerick, on 12 August 1690. (Print after D.M. Carter. Courtesy Library of Congress, Washington)

about 3,500 cavalrymen outside the city to keep communications open beyond the Shannon River where they had built some field fortifications. William concentrated on trying to take the city, made a breach and again demanded a surrender, but the garrison was determined to fight on. The British troops stormed through the breach, but once inside were set upon by the defenders from all sides and lost up to 2,000 men against about 400 casualties for the defenders. William III, having lost some of his elite troops, decided to raise the siege on 10 September and gather additional forces for another attempt later on.[13]

Of the Jacobite Irish levies the cavalry was obviously the best, part of it acting as something like light cavalry to harass the enemy. Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan, leading a largely mounted force he gathered after the Boyne, had on 12 August successfully attacked an unsuspecting British artillery siege train on its way to join William's army besieging Limerick. It became later known as "Sarsfield's Surprise" and was a factor in raising the siege. The heavy guns were not captured, but the raid showed that the British army's communications could be hampered because it had not as yet secured the countryside around Limerick. Meanwhile, although Lauzun's French expeditionary force had departed, support from France had not totally vanished and the Marquis de Saint-Ruth (St Ruth to anglophones) arrived with officers and supplies and took over command of the Irish Jacobite levies. There were also a number of French gunners, whose seemingly undocumented arrival in Ireland may have been as early as 1689, serving the Jacobite cannons with Irish gunners. Saint-Ruth and

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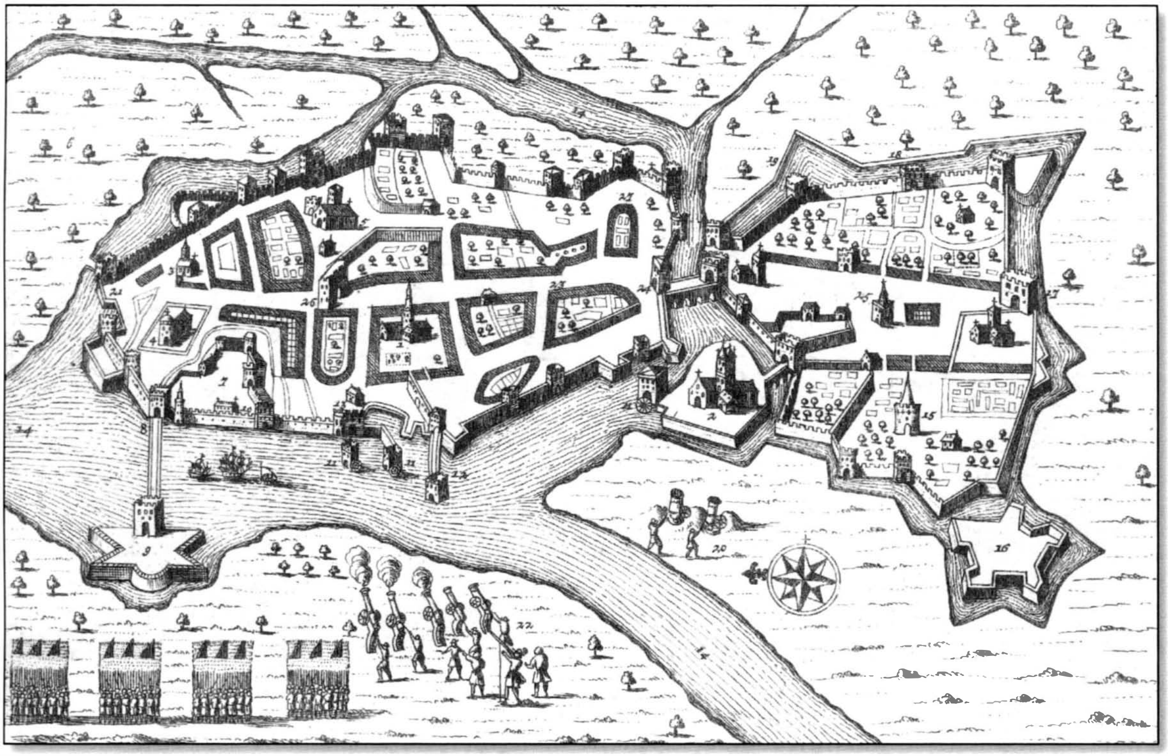
[13] Berwick, *Mémoires*, pp.48–50; *Mémoires du Marquis de Sourches*, Vol. 3, pp.513–517 reproduces Boisselot's report of the first siege of Limerick, 19 August–10 September 1690.



Limerick blockaded by the British army, autumn of 1691. Essentially the city had medieval curtain walls and towers with more recent additions (at right) with bastions and Fort Inneton. As can be seen, the Shannon River was its most important protection. The British batteries and troops are shown below. (Anonymous contemporary print. Courtesy Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. RP-P-OB-82.726)

the Irish commanders faced desperate odds against a superior British army in every way, led by the experienced Dutch generals Ginkel and van Reade. The British had not succeeded in taking Athlone in late August 1690, but did on 30 June 1691. General Ginkel then attacked the Jacobite army at Aughrim on 12 July 1691, a stubborn engagement that turned into defeat for the Irish once Saint-Ruth was killed in action. The remnants of the Jacobite army gathered in Limerick, determined to fight to the death as they became surrounded by the British army in August. The controversial Treaty of Limerick of October 1691 ensued and resulted in the permanent exile from their Green Isle of tens of thousands of Irish. For the Catholics who remained, centuries of oppression were their lot until the early twentieth century. Ironically, repression against Huguenots in France lessened during the eighteenth century and, since the 1789 French Revolution, they have been considered fully fledged Frenchmen.[14]

Consequences for the French Armies

Perhaps historian Edmund Curtis best summed up the far-reaching consequences of the Irish tragedy when he wrote: "Seldom in history have a few thousand men, departing into exile, represented as these did almost the whole aristocracy, the fighting forces and the hope of a nation."[15]

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[14] On the last campaign in Ireland, please consult for a much more detailed view: McNally, *St Ruth's Fatal Gamble. The Battle of Aughrim 1691 and the Fall of Jacobite Ireland.* For an outstanding description Ireland's tragic history and resilience, see Foster's acclaimed account *Modern Ireland 1600–1972.*

The immediate consequence was actually beneficial for France and the French army. The arrival of tens of thousands of Irishmen and Irishwomen gave a certain counterbalance to the trauma that came with the Sun King's revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Tens of thousands of Huguenots had fled their country and now France was greeting untold numbers of refugees from persecution for basically the same reasons. Just like the Huguenots, many of the Irish were skilled artisans, astute businessmen and fine administrators when given the chance. And just as the Huguenots elsewhere, they were given the chance in France and later in Spain. It is only recently that their impact is being considered by new generations of historians.[16]

The military impact has been better known thanks to the Irish Wild Geese regiments in the French and, later, in the allied Spanish armies. However, the whole of the distinct army maintained by and for James II in France between 1691 and 1698 seems to have hardly been glossed thus far. Considering this was a force of over 12,000 men outside of the Sun King's army establishment while Mountcashell's brigade in the French army hardly had half that number, there is a lot to be yet discovered about James II's distinct force.

In the long term, the Sun King's 1690 expedition produced a latent worry in William and Mary's Great Britain and its successive governments. He might give it another try in wartime. Although the British Royal Navy did gain a substantial success at La Hougue in 1692, it was far from a total defeat and the Sun King's navy remained a very powerful threat to be reckoned with. King James II died in September 1701 and his son, Prince James Edward, was recognised as his successor by Louis XIV giving a fresh motive to more persecutions of the Irish Catholic majority under the convenient "No Popery" obsession. This was in fact a fear by the landholding minority that if a French army ever landed in Ireland headed by the "Pretender", as the English called James' son, it was obvious that most of Ireland would rise and rally beneath his colours. In strictly military terms, it was thus necessary to keep strong garrisons in Ireland to be prepared against such possibilities, reassure the Protestant minority and awe the rest of the population as well as maintain its pauperism through various restrictive measures.[17]

It has been repeatedly written since the eighteenth century that the exodus of Huguenots from France provoked a loss of know-how in its business, in its finances, in governance and military affairs. While this is probably not unfounded, we must observe that in terms of business and finances, other European nations appear to have had the same problematic economic cycles as the Sun King's realm and that its capacity to massively fund public works and military affairs does not appear to have been very different than what

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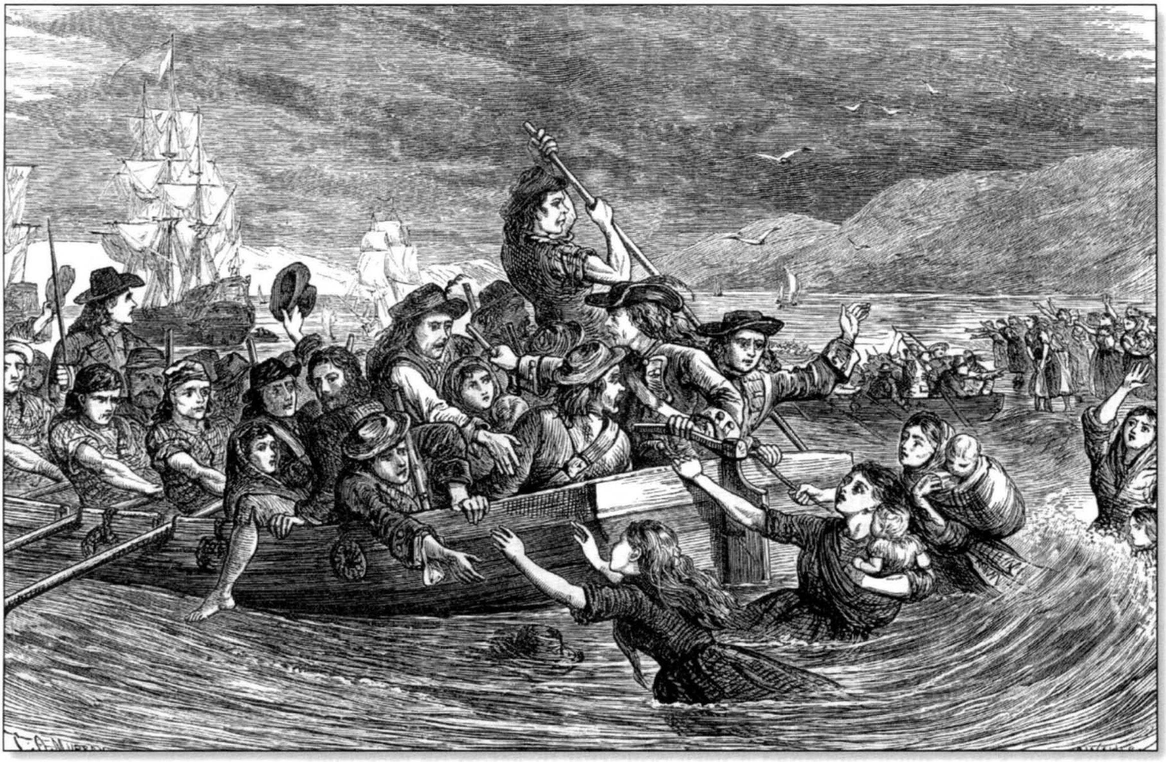
[15] Curtis, *A History of Ireland*, p.273.

[16] See for instance Patrick Clarke de Dromantin, *Les réfugiés jacobites dans la France du XVIIIe siècle* (Bordeaux: Presses universitaires de Bordeaux, 2005); Nathalie Genet-Rouffiac, "The wild Geese in France, 1688–1715: a French Perspective", *The Irish Sword*, XXVI, No. 103; Eoghan O'Hannrachain, "Who Were the Wild Geese"' *Études irlandaises*, No. 25-1 (2000), pp.105–123. Online at <http://www.persee.fr/doc/irlan_0183-973x_2000_num_25_1_1538>.

[17] Curtis, A *History of Ireland*, p.283.



The last Irish troops leaving Limerick for France, October 1691. It was a dramatic event "... when the day of embarkation came, more sorrowful still was the scene by the Shannon. After the soldiers had embarked, there remained on the waterside a great multitude clamouring piteously to be taken out on board. As the last boats put off there was a rush into the surf. Some women caught hold of the ropes out of their depth, clung till their fingers were cut through and perished in the waves. A wild and terrible wail rose from the shore ... The sails disappeared", wrote Macaulay. (Print after C.O. Murray. Private collection. Author's photo)

was occurring outside its borders. One of the reasons is the arrival of masses of Irish refugees in France as well as much smaller numbers of Scots. Much as Huguenot refugees, the Irish brought new energy, ideas and capacities in their adopted country that they now helped flourish.

Huguenot units in European armies were all disbanded or merged into other corps from the end of the War of the Spanish Succession and thus their distinct heritage disappeared gradually. In France however, the Wild Geese continued to exist with its distinct Irish heritage, colours and red uniforms. This was likely partly due to political reasons in that France continued to recognise the Stuarts as the rightful heirs of the British crown. But the outstanding value of the Irish regiments in battle had something to do with it too. Perhaps some of the greatest military consequences of those times of intolerance came in the high command of the opposing armies. Huguenot Marshal Schomberg was certainly the outstanding officer William III needed to secure his throne, but he was killed at his victory on the Boyne. Meanwhile, the young Duc de Berwick arrived in France, revealed himself to be a gifted general and went on to be one of the Sun King's best marshals in the dark times of the War of the Spanish Succession.

In spite of all the upheavals brought by intolerance in France and England, the conflicts had more political than religious causes. Since the early seventeenth century, fighting mainly for religion had decreased in favour of national geopolitical objectives. France fought Spain, both being Catholic countries, to become Europe's dominant political and economic power. Part of the Holy Roman Empire was Catholic, notably Austria and

Bavaria, and its diverse armies were usually fighting the Sun King's armies for the same reasons. Philosophers such as Blaise Pascal, John Locke and later Voltaire published influential texts on religious tolerance. With this was slowly spawning, amidst rape and pillage, a relatively new idea: that armies would behave more humanely in war.[18]

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[18] Arnold Toynbee, *La grande aventure de l'humanité* (Paris-Bruxelles: Elsevier-Séquoia, 1977), pp.510, 517. We note further that Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I decreed religious liberty from 1690.

4

Outbreak of the War of the League of Augsburg

Armament Equity

Up to the time of this war, also called "The Nine Years' War" or "King William's War" in Britain, the technical superiority and training of the French army was generally in advance or at least equal to that of its opponents. By the late 1680s however, this advantage held by the Sun King's army had largely vanished. Every other opposing army now had grenadiers, uniforms and, in some cases, superior armament. Even the smaller allied armies were also modernising their armament. Taking Piémont as an example, pikemen had been abolished and replaced by musketeers as early as 1668 in the infantry and they, in 1694, had been rearmed with flintlock muskets. There were already six grenadiers per company in Piemontese regiments. Two years later, all gunners were organised as military corps, issued uniforms and formed into a battalion of eight companies.[1]

This regression in the state-of-the-art armament of the French infantry is discussed in Volume 2 of this series, which the reader is invited to consult for more details. In this volume dealing with the War of the League of Augsburg, consideration is given to the actual effects on campaign of the slow evolution of the French infantryman's main weapon, the musket. Perhaps the worst case was the 1689–1691 Irish campaign. Not only were the Jacobite Irish troops largely unfamiliar with anything military, large quantities of them had only edged weapons such as farm scythes or kitchen knives. One is almost agonised to read that scythes were sent from France as late as 1690 to arm Irish levies. Muskets were sent too, but, judging by the quantity of match cord that came with them, they were largely matchlock muskets that were

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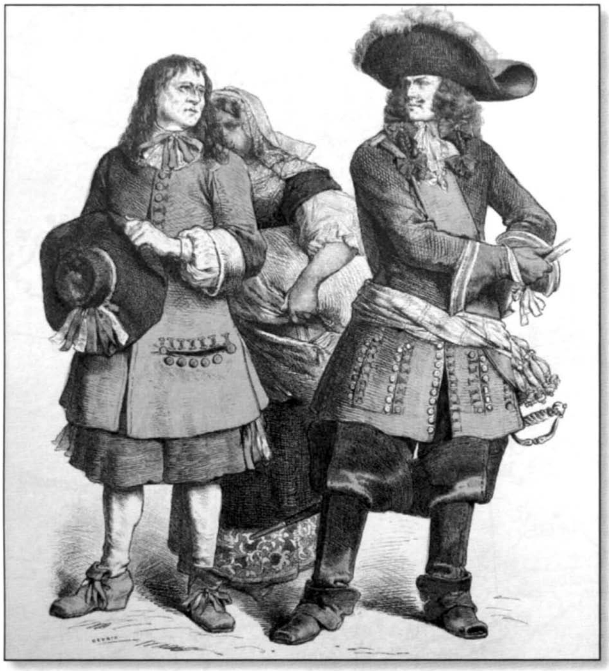
[1] Alexandre Saluces, *Histoire militaire du Piémont* (Torino: Degiorgis, 1859), Vol. 1, p.85, 353–354; Paul de Choulot and Gabriel Ferrero, *Histoire de l'armée sarde* (Torino: Bocca, 1845), pp.32, 34. See also Ciro Paoletti, *William III's Ally. Piedmont and the War of the League of Augsburg 1683–1697* (Warwick, UK: Helion & Company, 2019). When the war ended in 1698, the gunners were grouped into companies, and with all infantry corporals and lance-corporals armed with pistols in addition to their other weapons.

Bergen
KINGDOM OF SCOTLAND
KINGDOM
Christiana
O F
S W
FINLAND
CARELIA
Lake Onega
Lake Ladoga
ALAND IS.
Nystadt
Abo
Helsingfors
Viborg
Fredericksbald
Venern
Upsala
Stockholm
Gulf of Finland
Narva
Petrograd
INGRIA
DAGO
OESEL
Reval
ESTHONIA
N O R T H S E A
KINGDOM OF DENMARK
Halland
Kalmar
B A L T I C S E A
GOTLAND
ÖLAND
Dorpat
Peipus L.
Pskov
Novgorod
Volga R.
KINGDOM OF ENGLAND
L A T V I A
Riga
Courland
Tver
Skane
Lund
Stralsund
Copenhagen
BORNHOLM
Düna R.
Moscow
U
R
Holstein
Hamburg
NETHERLANDS
Bremen
Elbe
Wismar
Pomerania
Danzig
Memel
Königsberg
Vilna
West Prussia
Grodno
Smolensk
Ryazan
Brussels
BRANDENBURG
Berlin
Stettin
Thorn
Mohilev
H O L Y R O M A N E M P I R E
Saxony
KINGDOM OF POLAND
Lithuania
Posen
Pultusk
Brest-Litovsk
Paris
KINGDOM OF FRANCE
Rhine
Frankfort
Prague
Warsaw
Breslau
Silesia
Oder
Klissow
Lublin
Chernigov
Voronesh
Bohemia
Strasbourg
Danube
Cracow
Kiev
Munich
Austria
Lemberg
Dniester
PODOLIA
Bug
Dnieper R.
Poltowa
Lyons
SWITZERLAND
Vienna
POSSESSIONS
AUSTRIAN
Budapest
HUNGARY
Danube
T U R K I S H D O M I N I O N
Moldavia
Bessarabia
Pruth
Bender
Milan
Venice
Austrian 1699
TRANSYLVANIA
Azov
Marseilles
Banat
Crimea
Belgrade
Wallachia
BLACK SEA
Longitude 10 East from 15 Greenwich 20° 30 35

still the main weapons of French regular infantrymen. In 1690, only 17 out of every 100 French infantrymen were armed with flintlock muskets. And, at least by regulation, every infantry company had to have a dozen pikemen so this came to one pike for every five muskets. We have no evidence that this was or was not the case in Ireland, but if it was, that meant a theoretical 1,332 pikemen as part of the 111 companies of the French expeditionary force. All this had a negative effect on French infantry firepower, but not everywhere. On the Italian front, Lieutenant General Catinat forbade pikes in his army as early as 1690.

Map of the Holy Roman Empire, central Europe and the Ottoman Turkish Dominions, late seventeenth century. (Private collection. Author's photo)

As for the Jacobite Irish, only about half were reported to have firearms of any sort at the Boyne. In March 1691, 5,000 matchlock muskets and 3,000 flintlock muskets as well as 4,000 "officer's spontoons" that, more likely, were pikes that could be issued either to officers or enlisted men, were sent from France. Most of these weapons likely never got to Ireland as "[the ship] that carried the ammunition with M. de Tyrconnell has hit a rock and is damaged." The Jacobites' British opponents meanwhile were armed since the mid 1680s with either the early type of flintlock muskets called "snaphance" or, increasingly, the "fuzee" which was the latest type of flintlock musket. Officially, there was still one pikeman to two musketeers in the 1689 British army. There were some at the battle of the Boyne in 1690 and pikemen repulsed Irish cavalry at the battle of Aughrim on 12 July 1691. But the trend was to replace the pike, and by 1691 whole companies were being armed with flintlocks fitted with the new socket bayonets so that the British army's better armament was certainly a factor in its battlefield successes. The superiority of the allied armies regarding infantry weapons was further revealed as very potent during the 1693 battle of Steenkirk. The French infantry did catch up, but it took longer. There were no outstanding differences between the French and the allied armies in the armament of mounted services nor of the artillery.[2]



Conscription into the army, 1688. A called-up villager is being invited by an officer to report to his Royal Militia unit for active service. He wears the tricoloured ribbons that traditionally identified recruits. An apprehensive girl, it could be a sister or fiancée, is just behind. A scene no doubt repeated tens of thousands of times in the French countryside. (Print after Braun and Schneider. Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library, Providence, RI, USA. Author's photo)

Conscription

On 15 December 1688, the Sun King was resolutely assuming that a pan-European war was inevitable and he was fully preparing to cope with it. The Marquis de Sourches noted that day that he had told courtiers that the army would have 300,000 men, a third to serve on campaign, a third to serve as garrisons and the last third to defend the border provinces and the sea coast. This was besides the 25,000 men he had ordered drafted by enlisting a man in each village for a total of 325,000 men on active duty.[3]

This last remark was in reference to a truly revolutionary measure taken by the King two weeks earlier, which was to have far-reaching social and military consequences in nearly all nations during the following centuries: obligatory national military service. There had been during past reigns occasional levies to strengthen armies temporarily, whose recruits were usually rounded-up vagabonds or beggars. Another type of levy was the *Ban* and *Arrière-ban*, which was a medieval call to arms of the nobility. In August 1674, the Sun King had called upon the *Arrière-ban* noble gentry situated within 100 lieues of the war zones to join the armies. These were untrained cavalrymen arriving with their own horses and armed with antiquated weapons they hardly knew how to use. Being noblemen, imposition of any discipline was next to impossible. Marshal Turenne was so upset at their crass ignorance and total uselessness that he sent them all back to their homes. These were obviously not the sort of additional troops that could be useful.

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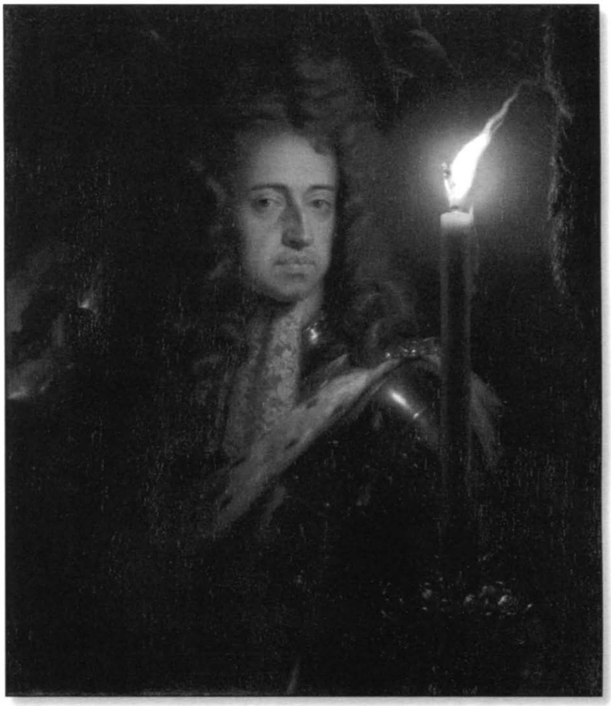
[2] McNally, *St Ruth's Fatal Gamble. The Battle of Aughrim 1691 and the Fall of Jacobite Ireland*, pp.210–213; John Childs, *The Nine Years' War and the British Army 1688–1697. The Operations in the Low Countries* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), p.76; Howard Blackmore, *British Military Firearms* (New York: Arco, 1968), chapter 2; Cliford Walton, *History of the British Standing Army 1660–1700* (London: Harrison, 1894), p.116. A British warrant of 30 December 1695 still prescribed 14 pikemen to every 60 infantrymen except fusilier regiments. They were finally officially replaced by muskets in 1702 as per The National Archives, War Office 26/11.

[3] Louis-François du Bouchet, Marquis de Sourches, *Mémoires du Marquis de Sourches sur le règne de Louis XIV*, G-J de Cosnac, ed. (Paris: Hachette, 1882–1892) Vol. 2, pp.307–308.

By 1688, what Louis XIV needed was a way to muster the hardy ordinary young men in France's countryside to reinforce his field armies at will. They could be trained by veterans while they learned about life in the army standing guard in a fortress. By his regulation of 29 November 1689, a solution was found. Each village or rural community had to furnish an unmarried man aged between 20 and 40 years old who would enter the Provincial Militia for full-time service. It was an early form of conscription. This militia was very different from other such organisations existing in the kingdom, the Bourgeois Militia and the Coast Guard Militia, which we will present in detail in our Volume 4. We will also examine the Provincial Militia further in that volume, but the overwhelmingly important aspect is that, henceforth, the royal government could and did impose obligatory military service.[4]



King William III of England and Stadholder of the Netherlands, c. 1692-1697. Certainly the Sun King's most relentless opponent. (Portrait by Godfried Schalcken. Courtesy Rijskmuseum, Amsterdam. SK-A-367)

Grand Alliance, Ottomans and Holy League

In 1688, France faced the coming war against the Grand Alliance that was slowly being formed by gathering the Holy Roman Empire, the Netherlands, Great Britain, Spain, Denmark and most Italian states. It was the master plan of the Sun King's greatest rival, the Prince of Orange, who became King William III of Great Britain in 1689. The contrast between the two could not have been greater. The Sun King was the very image of ambitious majesty and power, a natural leader and autocrat, charismatic and faultlessly polite whose manners and tastes in art were followed everywhere, an astute and farseeing strategist promoting his kingdom to be a prime world power. William was reserved, nervous and preoccupied, and could be blunt, cold and unsympathetic in manners; he was physically pale, haggard and worn with asthma. He was, according to Fortescue, "an inferior general" in that he "lacked tactical instinct and above all he lacked patience; in a word, to use a modern phrase, he was a very clever amateur" that never won a great victory, yet his tenacity often outwitted the French and was the glue that made the Grand Alliance last through challenging times. He believed that the Sun King wanted to invade the Netherlands again and managed to match the vast armies that Louis XIV raised by convincing most Europeans that if they did not band together, they would all be invaded. They had seen the horrors perpetrated in the Netherlands in 1672 and the Dragonades against the Huguenots, and would soon see the terrible deeds of the French armies

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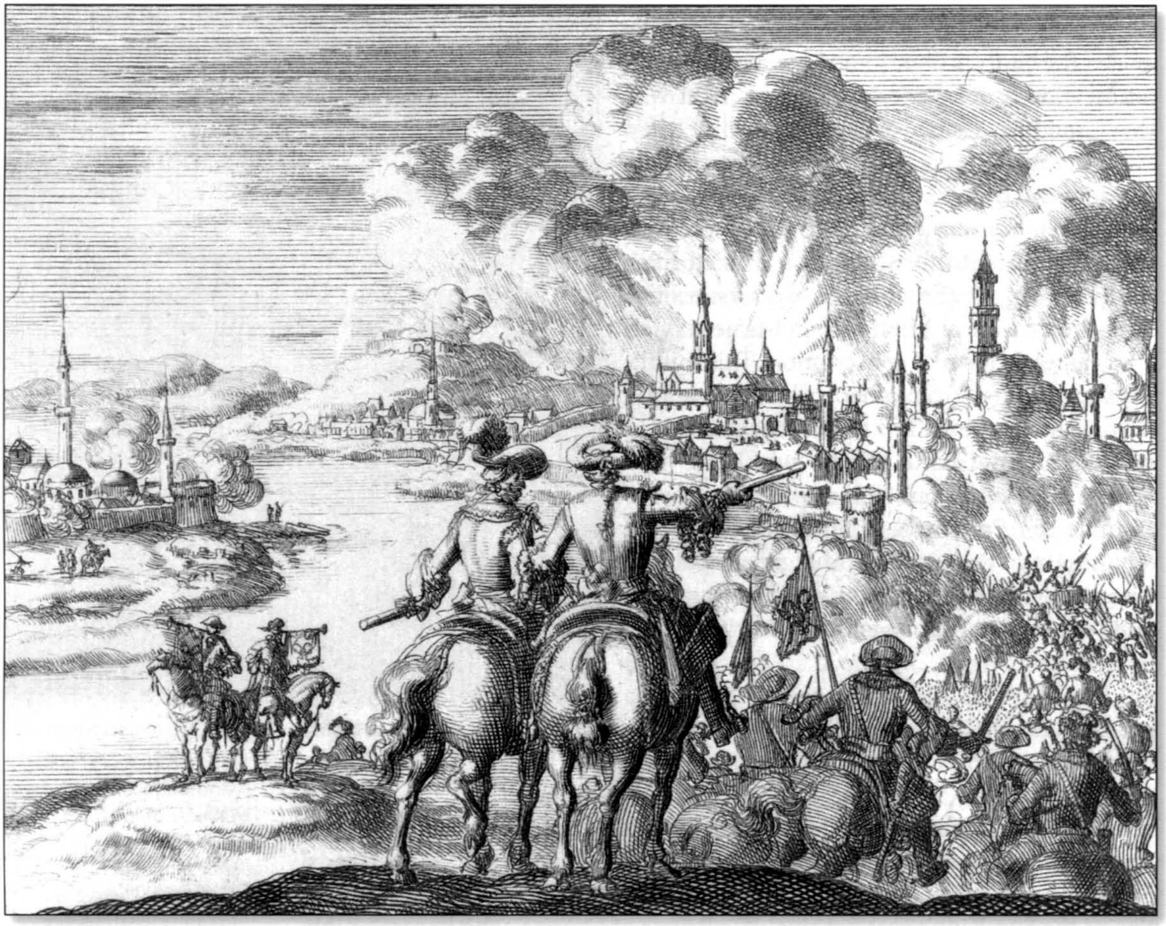
[4] Léon Hennet, *Les milices et les troupes provinciales* (Paris: L. Baudoin, 1884), pp.22–28.



The capture of Budapest, 2 September 1686. This victory of the Imperial army heralded the withdrawal of the Ottoman Turks from southern Hungary. (Print after Jan Luyken. Courtesy Rijskmuseum, Amsterdam. RP-P-1896-A-19368-755)

in the Palatinate. Being the next country that could be persecuted by French soldiers was not an option and thus William's simple arguments won.[5]

The strategic leverage on the Holy Roman Empire's frontier in the East, thanks to the pressure of the Ottoman Turks, had become less acute following their spectacular defeat at Vienna in 1683. The perceived weakening of the Ottomans, whose rule in the Balkan was endured, but never really accepted, by most of its diverse populations, now encouraged revolt. For example, Bulgaria may have been geographically close to Turkey and far from Austria, but traditionally it was a scene of unrest. In 1684 the Second Tarnovo Uprising broke out. Although repressed, another widespread revolt erupted in 1686 amongst Bulgarian Catholics that was put down with "the expected outrages committed by Ottoman authorities" driving thousands out of the country. Nevertheless, three years later another widespread uprising inflamed Northern Macedonia, led by one Voyvode Karposh, that was in turn "drowned in blood" by the Ottoman Turks.[6]

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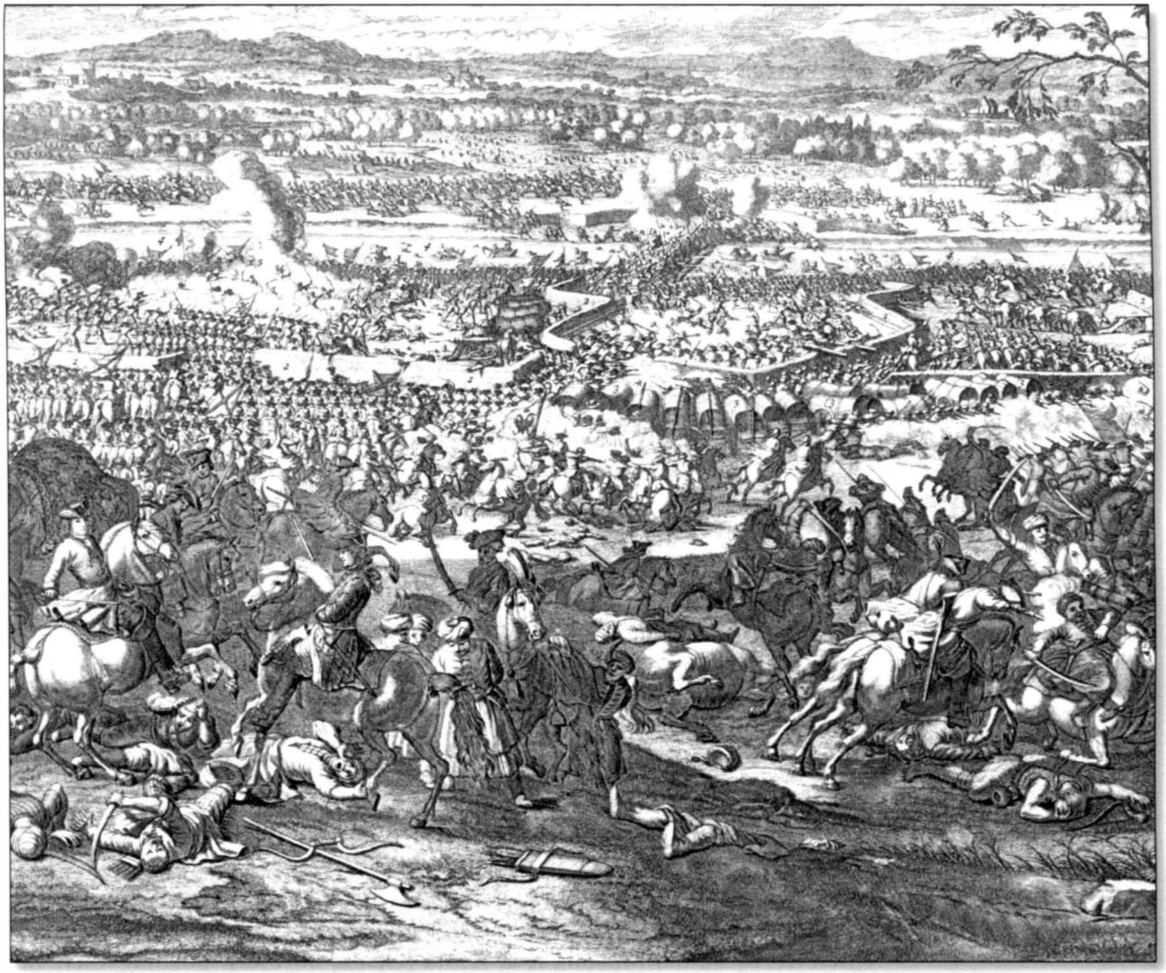
[5] Voltaire, *Le Siècle de Louis XIV*, pp.239–240; George M. Wrong, *History of England* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1929), pp.361–362; Fortescue, *A History of the British Army*, Vol. 1, pp.356–357.

[6] Flamen Pavlov, *Bulgaria and Bulgarians: a brief history* (Sofia: Borina, 2009), p.59.



The battle of Zenta (or Centa), 11 September 1697. Prince Eugene crushed the Ottoman Turkish army led by Sultan Mustafa II, a defeat that confirmed the decline of Ottoman power in Europe. (Print after Jan van Huchtenburg, 1729. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. RP-P-1904-1080)

These revolts combined with other areas of unrest came at a bad time for the Ottoman army. After its rout in Vienna it had also lost the great fortress of Esztergom (Hungary) on the Danube River that it had held for nearly a century and a half, thus ending its strategic control of the river. Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I called on other European countries to form a crusade-like alliance, The Holy League, to drive back the Ottomans out of southern Hungary and advance into Serbia, Greece and to the Black Sea. Poland and Venice joined Austria in 1684 followed by Russia in 1686. Volunteers from other Christian countries were also sought. The future Marshal of France, the Duc de Berwick, was one of the volunteers who served and learned "the art of war" under Charles, Duc de Lorraine, fighting the Ottomans in Hungary and being present at the capture of Budapest on 2 September 1686, which led to the liberation of southern Hungary. At the same time, Polish forces were advancing on the Ottomans in Ukraine and Russian troops penetrated the Crimea while Venetian ships were keeping the Turkish fleet at bay.

Although the Sun King said that the Holy League's liberation of Hungary was good for Christendom, there was no suggestion that France would ever be part of it; French gentlemen were forbidden to join it. This strict neutrality was further expressed in 1686 when the Ottoman grand vizier mentioned that the sultan had helped the ruler of France in the past and his help would now be appreciated. In his answer via his ambassador, Louis XIV corrected the Ottoman officials because "there had never been an order from myself to join [France in] the war with the Ottoman Empire against the House of Austria ..." and he reaffirmed thus his strict official neutrality. By then, the Ottomans could not stop the progress of the Austrians who captured the important strategic city of Belgrade in 1687 followed by a great victory at Mohacs. Such a succession of defeats by the Ottoman armies had never been seen before. Mehmet IV, who had been sultan since 1648, had previously been told that he had to take his role as leader more seriously, abandon hunting and give up the 5,000 women of his harem that cost as much as an army corps. The successive defeats greatly upset the Turkish people as well as the Ottoman court in Istanbul; Mehmet IV was chased out and replaced by Soliman II.[7]

For Louis XIV, it was clear that the increasingly powerful and aggressive Austrians had allies to placate effectively the Ottoman armies and contribute more troops to face almighty France. Certainly, the events in the East could yet turn again in favour of the Ottomans. In 1690, hitherto victorious Austrians had stiff opposition from the Ottoman Turkish armies and the year turned into a disastrous campaign culminating in the Ottoman recapture of Belgrade. But it would not last. The following year, a powerful Ottoman army of about 50,000 troops led by Grand Vizier Koprulu Fazıl Mustafa Pasha was decisively defeated by an Imperial army of 25,000 men under Louis William, Margrave of Baden-Baden, at Slankamen (65 km north of Belgrade). The Ottomans managed to hold their own and even recaptured Temesvar (Timisoara, Romania) in 1695. However, on 11 September 1697, Prince Eugene's 50,000 Imperial troops crushed the Ottoman army of 80,000 men led by Sultan Mustafa II at Zenta (Centa, northern Bosnia) where his troops had some 30,000 casualties compared to about 2,000 for the Imperials. This disaster added to other defeats would have serious consequences for the French army in the future. It looked as if the Ottoman Empire was becoming a former superpower.[8]

In France, such an outcome had been considered and acted upon since the later 1670s. To cope with military pressure from the increasingly numerous allied armies, the Sun King continued to put in place the *Pré carré* defence plan by Lieutenant General Vauban that called for strategically interconnected lines of fortresses that would stop or delay enemy armies at the border (see Volume 2, Chapter 4). From that time and during the 1680s upgraded or new fortresses appeared, forming defensive interconnected zones from Dunkirk to the Meuse River; Aire and Menin guarded the Lys River, Douai was on the Scarpe River, Bouchain, Valenciennes and Condé on the Upper Scheldt,

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[7] Louis XIV quoted in Lucien Bély, Jean Bérenger and André Corvisier, *Guerre et paix dans l'Europe du XVIIe siècle* (Paris: SEDES, 1991), pp.383–384. Soliman II died in 1691 and was succeeded by Ahmet II in turn by Mustafa II in 1695, Ahmet III in 1703 and Mahmoud I until 1736.

[8] Virginia H. Aksan, *Ottoman Wars 1700–1870 An Empire Besieged* (Harlow, UK: Pearson Education, 2007), pp.20, 24.

Maubeuge on the Sambre River, Philippeville and Marienburg between the Sambre and Meuse, Dinant on the Meuse. All these, and more elsewhere on France's borders formed excellent bases to lodge and supply its field armies. In some cases, besides the fortresses, minor or field fortifications might also be built in between. However, this was not a strictly defensive strategy like the hapless Maginot Line of 1940, the Sun King and his generals saw them much more as bases for French armies to attack the enemy.[9]

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[9] Fortescue, *A History of the British Army*, Vol. 1, p.357.

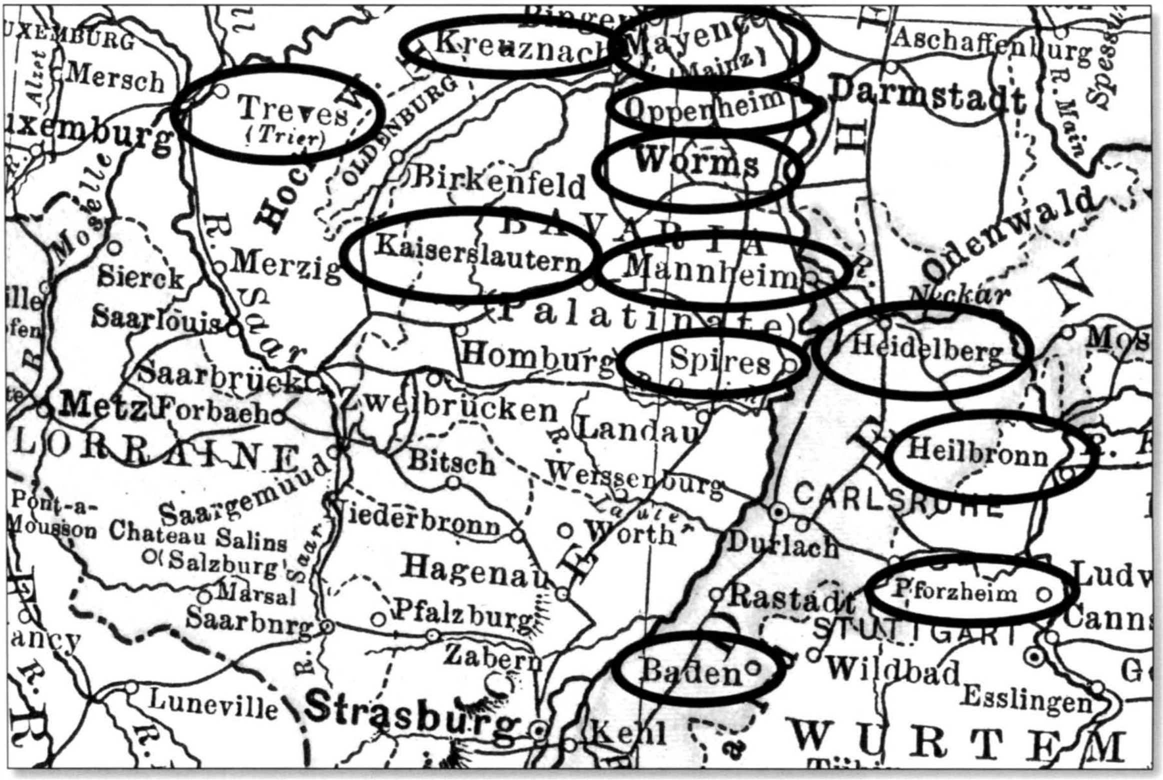
5

Invading the Palatinate 1688–1689

The first objective was to march into the German Palatinate that, as part of the Holy Roman Empire, had only done its duty by adhering to the Emperor's Grand Alliance wishes in February 1688. Now the Sun King saw it as a fine opportunity to invade part of western Germany. A field army of up to 100,000 men was massed at France's north-eastern border. It was under the nominal command of the King's 27-year-old son, the Grand Dauphin, with the actual day-to-day command being Marshal Duras's duty. An army corps under Lieutenant General Boufflers had already crossed the Rhine, another corps under Marshal d'Humières was in Flanders and Lieutenant General Vauban was preparing the siege of the fortress city of Philippsburg on the German side of the Rhine. On 22 September, the Grand Dauphin left Versailles to take command of at least 30,000 men who started siege operations at the end of the month. The Sun King's son simply must not be defeated, and this was not likely with a garrison of at most 2,000 Imperial troops under Count Maximilien von Starhemberg who nevertheless was determined to put up a fight. The Grand Dauphin had nominal command, but siege operations were overseen by Lieutenant General Vauban for siegeworks, Marshal Duras and Lieutenant General Catinat for other military aspects. The fortress finally capitulated after a stubborn resistance on 30 October after 31 days of siege. The French army marched into the Palatinate and took or occupied Manheim on 11 November, Trier and other towns during the month.

Burning Everything

At the end of 1688, orders came from Versailles to burn everything that had been conquered in the Palatinate. The King, advised by Louvois, had fallen in the trap of the war minister's utterly cruel logic: with everything in the Palatinate reduced to ashes, enemy troops would not be able to subsist and spend the winter there. It would also give a lesson to its elector as to the consequences of being faithful to the Holy Roman Empire and awe all the other German principalities and their leaders. Of all the descriptions of this


Mersch
Treves
(Trier)
Kreuznach
Mayence
(Mainz)
Aschaffenburg
Darmstadt
Oppenheim
Worms
Birkenfeld
Oldenburg
Kaiserslautern
Mannheim
Bavaria
Palatinate
Odenwald
Neckar
Merzig
Sierck
Saarlouis
R. Saar
Moselle
Homburg
Spires
Heidelberg
Saarbrück
Metz
Forbach
Zweibrücken
Landau
Lorraine
Heilbronn
Saargemünd
Bitsch
Weissenburg
Pont-a-Mousson
Chateau Salins
(Salzburg)
Niederbronn
Worth
Carlsruhe
Durlach
Hagenau
Marsal
Saarburg
Pfalzburg
Rastadt
Pforzheim
Ludw
Stuttgart
Zabern
Baden
Wildbad
Esslingen
Luneville
Strasburg
Kehl
Wurtem

Some of the towns and cites burned or sacked and ravaged by the French army in the Palatinate, 1688–1689. Adapted from a detail from a map of Germany. (Private collection. Author's photo)

actions, which could alone fill this book with tales of horror and grief, we chose Voltaire's short but telling account of this terrible episode because he further showed that the outcome of this savagery achieved exactly the opposite of Louis XIV's expectations:[1]

> … the French generals, who could only obey, gave advice in the middle of winter to the citizens of all these towns so flourishing and well kept up, to the inhabitants of villages, to the masters of over 50 castles that they had to leave their homes that would be destroyed by iron and fire. Men, women, children left hurriedly. Part wandered in the countryside; others took refuge in neighbouring countries, while the soldier, who always executes the orders prescribing rigour and never those favouring clemency, burned and ravaged their country. It started at Manheim and Heidelberg, the seat of the electors; their palaces were destroyed as were the houses of their citizens; their coffins were opened due to the rapacity of the soldier that believed he would find treasures; their ashes were dispersed. It was the second time that this fine land was desolated under Louis XIV; but the flames by which Turenne had burned two towns and 20 villages in the Palatinate were only sparks by comparison to the present great fires. Europe was horrified; the officers that executed [these orders] were full of shame to be the instruments of these harsh acts. They blamed the Marquis de Louvois, who had become more inhuman by the hardening of the heart that results from a long tenure [as Minister

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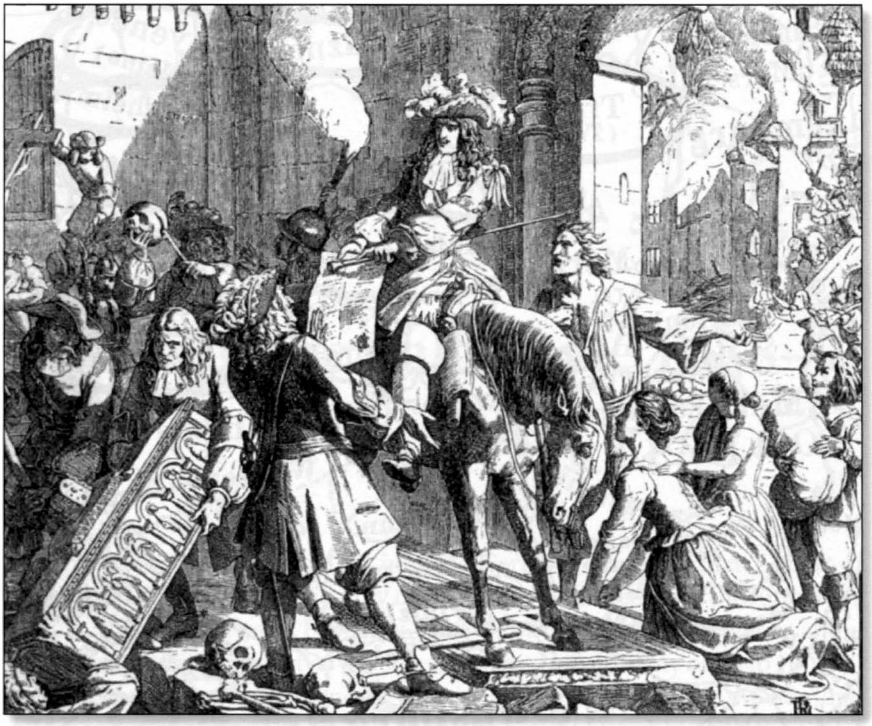
[1] Voltaire, *Le siècle de Louis XIV*, pp.241–243.



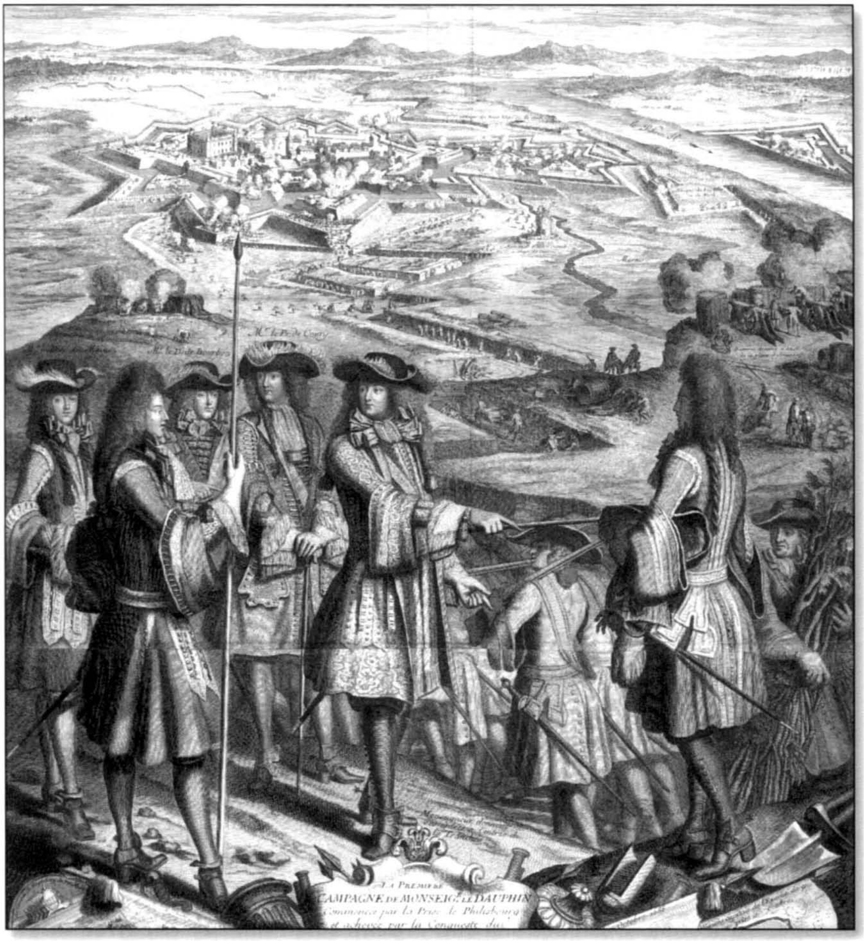
The Ravage of the Palatinate, 1688–1689. While soldiers desecrate coffins looking for valuables, an officer shows his order as humble people beg for mercy. (Private collection. Author's photo)

> of War]. He had indeed given such advice [to destroy and burn]; but Louis was the master who did not have to follow it. If the King had seen this spectacle, he would have extinguished the flames himself. [Instead] he signed, in his palace at Versailles and surrounded by pleasures, the destruction of a whole country, because he could only see in this order his own power and the sad rights of war… Up until then, other nations had only blamed his ambition while admiring him. [They now] cried out against his harshness and even blamed his policies: because if enemies had entered his states as he had entered those of his enemies, they would have reduced his cities to ashes. This danger could be feared: Louis, in covering his frontiers with 100,000 soldiers had shown Germany that it too could also make similar efforts. That country, more populous than France, can also raise greater armies …

The Sun King's semi-official army historian and contemporary witness, the Marquis de Quincy, had a lot less to say. According to him, the King did not want to provide bases to "a great [enemy] army" that the Grand Alliance would gather in the Rhineland to invade France. Thus:

> [he had] been obliged, so as to drive them from his borders, to have the city of Heidelberg burned as well as the small town of Ladembourg. However, after our troops had gone, the enemy re-established themselves as best as it could in the ruins of these two town as well as in Manheim, Franckandal, Spire and Worms that we had also burned.

Not going into further details, he simply mentioned that "the enemies of France" did not miss denouncing this "so-called cruelty, without considering



The siege and capture of Philippsburg from 10 October to 1 November 1688. The French army was under the command of the Grand Dauphin (at centre, pointing) who was accompanied by the Duc de Maine, the Duc the Bourbon and the Prince of Conti (at left). (Courtesy Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library, Providence, RI, USA)

that it was the only way the King then had to stop the progress that the Empire would have made in Alsace with an equally strong army that had long been prepared." France could not then predict this invasion attempt "as it would the following years, to resist the enemy efforts who wanted to attack on all sides. It was for this reason that the French army was so mediocre during this campaign in Germany.[2]

After this nonsensical explanation, Quincy went back to his historical battle accounts. It was and remains difficult to see how a massive allied invasion force of up to 100,000 men was lurking about the Palatinate while a smaller French army corps had swept everything and captured Heidelberg. Another French corps had even penetrated into Bavaria to convince its rulers that an alliance with France was sought.

All this convinced everyone outside of France that William of Orange was right, that the Sun King would stop at nothing to overcome any opposition. Pillaging and violence perpetrated by armies had been done since antiquity

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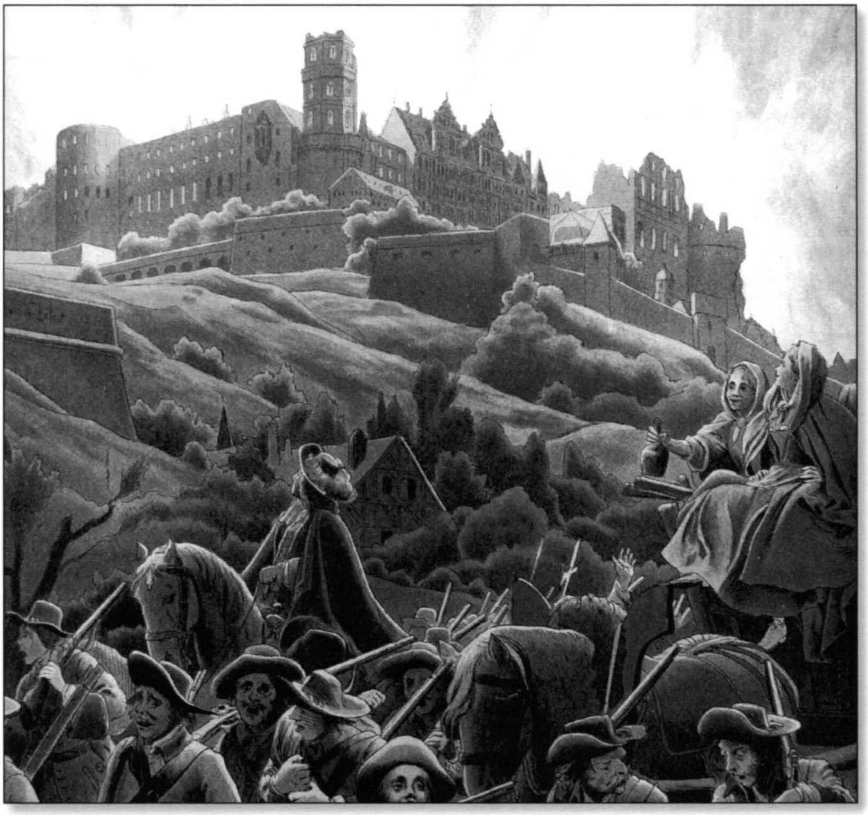
[2] Quincy, *Histoire militaire*, Vol. 2, p.167. Perhaps for good measure for French readers, he related a skirmish on 7 January at a place called Neubourg where a few sick French soldiers were taken prisoners and the allied troops "had the cruelty to cut off their head".



The burning of Heidelberg castle by French troops, 2 March 1689. The French army is shown marching out of the sacked city by the glow of the flames consuming the castle. (Print after Maurice Leloir. Private collection. Author's photo)

and are still with us today. In Louis XIV's era, seizures and requisitions might represent between 13 percent and 25 percent of the cost of maintaining occupation troops. Destructions and cruelties had already occurred in the wake of French troops in Holland during 1672 and the Palatinate in 1675, but the scale of the present ravages was such that it surpassed by far what could be qualified as the misfortunes of war. This time, the logic of such behaviour could not be understood nor defended. It was seen for what it was: totally inhumane on a grand scale. Louvois, Louis XIV and their cohorts had thus created an enormous propaganda hydra against them. Furthermore, such cruel actions that horrified contemporaries were never quite forgotten for successive generations. France, which Louis XIV had raised to be considered at the pinnacle of genteel civilised values, would never again be seen quite the same way.[3]

Organising a strong allied opposing army could not be done instantly. William of Orange was becoming William III and preoccupied in Great Britain. Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I was mainly facing the Ottoman Turks while Brandenburg-Prussia was ruled by Prince-Elector Frederick III who had just succeeded his father. The allies could, in time, equal or even surpass the French's technical, financial and logistic resources, but they could not have

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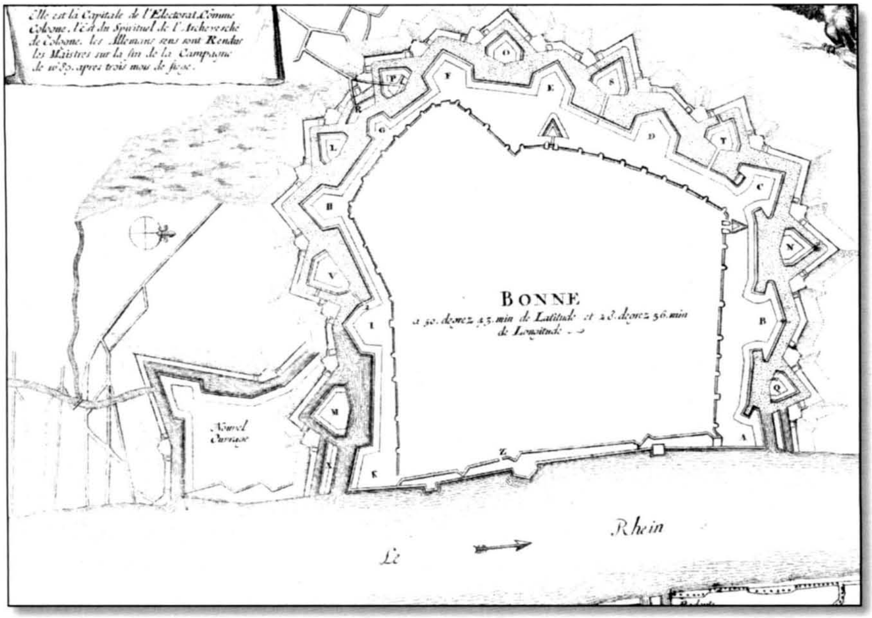
[3] Jean-Philippe Cénat, 'Le ravage du Palatinat: politique de destruction, stratégie de cabinet et propaganda au début de la Ligue d'Augsbourg', *Revue Historique*, 2005/1, No. 633, pp.97–132.


Elle est la Capitale de l'Electorat Comme
Cologne, l'Est du Spirituel de l'Archeveché
de Cologne. les Allemans s'en sont Rendus
les Maistres sur la fin de la Campagne
de 1689. apres trois mois de siege.
BONNE
a 50. degrez 45. min de Latitude et 28. degrez 56. min de Longitude
Nouvel Ouvrage
Le Rhein

A plan of Bonn, capital of the Electorate of Cologne, c. 1690. It was captured from the French on 12 October 1689 after a three month siege. (Courtesy Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. RP-P-OB-83.033A-21)

absolute military or political unity between many nations whose governments ranged from absolute dictatorships to spawning democracies. Louis XIV's great strength was that his large French army had one supreme commander and a unified command system.

Allied Counter-Attack

Although Great Britain, and to a certain extent the Netherlands, was preoccupied by events in Ireland, the Holy Roman Empire made plans to field up to 110,000 troops to fight the French. An early allied success came at Walcourt, near Charleroi in Flanders, when some 30,000 troops under the Prince of Waldeck defeated a 35,000-man force under Marshal d'Humières on 25 August 1689. Meanwhile, French outrages in the Palatinate could not go unchallenged and Emperor Leopold I put the Duke of Lorraine, Charles V, in command of a 28,000-man Imperial army to counter the French. Charles, whose duchy had been forfeited by Louis XIV, had proven to be a fine general leading Austrian armies against Ottoman Turks who, like the French in allied opinion, were also renowned for their wanton destructions and cruelties with blood on their hands. The Prince-Elector Frederick III of Brandenburg-Prussia, disgusted by the French army's conduct against Protestants and in the Palatinate, joined Charles with 18,000 troops later reinforced by a Dutch corps, all being determined to chase out the French from western Germany. By the autumn the allies had retaken Mayence (Mainz) and Bonn, the latter of which capitulated on 12 October 1689 after a three month siege during which the French commander, the Baron d'Asfeld, perished while resisting a general assault. It had not been a very good year for the French armies except that Marshal de Luxembourg was appointed by the King as commander-in-chief in Flanders, in spite of strenuous opposition from Louvois who hated him. Marshal de Lorges held on in defensive positions in Germany. Secondary fronts were in the Roussillon-Catalonia and Dauphiné-Piémont borders under Marshal de Noailles and Lieutenant General Catinat respectively.[4]

For the 1690 campaign, the Sun King now had most of Europe against him, the only respite being in Ireland which demanded tens of thousands of British troops to deal with the unfortunately inadequate Irish levies and the few thousand French troops. On the other fronts and especially in Flanders and Germany, far more numerous enemy armies would be facing the French, at least in theory. In practice, the allies actually deployed less troops than previously pledged while Louis XIV wanted and could have at least 100,000 in the field fairly promptly who were under the unified command of usually experienced officers. The difference was soon felt at Fleurus on 1 July 1690. There the Prince of Waldeck at the head of 30,000 had to engage on "highly unpromising ground", to quote Childs, the 40,000 men led by Marshal Luxembourg, clearly a better tactician. A large-scale skirmish the previous day had weakened Waldeck's cavalry, so his Dutch infantry gallantly fought off repeated French charges for six hours before its remnants retreated. Casualties came to some 7,000 men in each army, the French having taken about 200 colours and standards, 49 cannons, some kettledrums, five pontoon bridges and some 200 wagons full of ammunition and supplies. Luxembourg held the field and kept the allies on the defensive even if some reinforcements arrived later. This French victory basically settled the campaign for the rest of the year. By the autumn of 1690 part of the allied troops had left Flanders while the reinforced French looked forward to having some sieges in the following years.[5]

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[4] Quincy, *Histoire militaire*, Vol. 2, pp.172–236; Voltaire, *Le siècle de Louis XIV*, pp.241–245; Childs, *The Nine Years' War*, pp.119–123. In June 1689, the Austrian Imperial army pledged 40,000 men to the west; Saxe, 18,000; Hesse, 12,000; Bavaria, 10,000; Swabia, 4,000; Brandenburg, 20,000; Munster, 6,000.

[5] Quincy, *Histoire militaire*, Vol. 2, pp.246–260 ; Childs, *The Nine Years' War*, pp.145–147.

6

A Preference for Sieges in Flanders

The Sun King's previous wars certainly had shown an inclination to siege warfare. Here was a fine way to apply the doctrine of overwhelming force to occupy enemy cities, which was an economically viable option, with the added bonus of occupying adjoining territory where troops could be quartered at the unwilling host's expense. Occupied enemy areas also provided a buffer so that a large enemy army was unlikely to enter France itself. As Fortescue put it with much humour:

> The Court of Versailles was particularly fond of a siege since it could attend the ceremony in state and take nominal charge of operations with much glory and little discomfort or danger. The French passion for rule and formula also found a happy outlet in the conduct of a siege, for there is no nation more brilliant or more original, particularly in military affairs ...

Naturally, this was an era when successful warfare was not defined by such notions as unconditional surrender; comfortably occupying a territory while having the conquered pay was quite acceptable. Great decisive field battles such as Rocroi had not yet made a comeback in the 1690s although there were notable field engagements as well as a great succession of sieges.[1]

It was in 1691 that the great siege capacity of the French army got seriously under way. This might have had some opposition because, once again, under the behest and leadership of King William III, the allies pledged to commit some 220,000 men to oppose the Sun King's armies. However, he had already raised his forces to over 400,000 men and over the next two years, would peak at about 450,000. Not all would be committed to the Flanders and German borders, but it was certainly more than a match. In February, Louvois was also planning the upcoming campaign and the fortress city of Mons was selected as the target. It was seen as an important allied base and its capture would then open the road to Brussels, capital of Spanish Flanders. Over 100,000 men were

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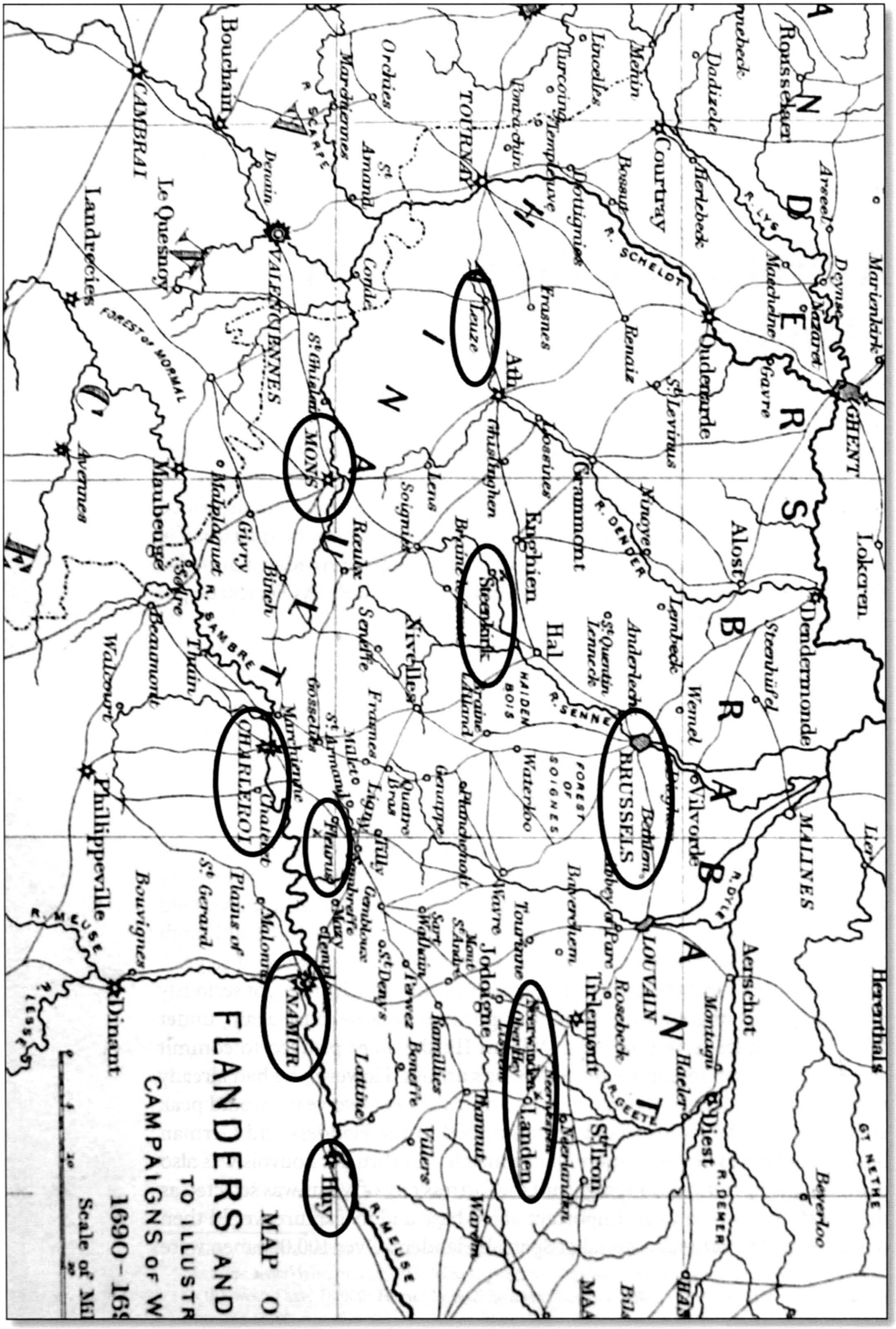
[1] Fortescue, *A History of the British Army*, Vol. 1, pp.354–355.


MAP OF
FLANDERS AND
TO ILLUSTR
CAMPAIGNS OF W
1690 - 169
Scale of Mi
FLANDERS
BRABANT
HAINAULT
GHENT
BRUSSELS
MALINES
LOUVAIN
TOURNAY
MONS
VALENCIENNES
CAMBRAI
CHARLEROI
NAMUR
Leuze
Steenkirk
Fleurus
Landen
Huy
Dinant
Philippeville
R. MEUSE
R. SAMBRE
R. SCHELDT
R. LYS
R. DENDER
R. SENNE
R. DYLE
R. GEETE
R. DEMER
GT NETHE
FOREST OF MORMAL
FOREST OF SOIGNES

Map detail of Flanders and Brabant to illustrate the campaigns of William III, 1690–1696. The location of the main sieges and battles are circled. (Private collection. Author's photo) assigned to this operation just in a sector of Flanders. To carry out the siege some 63,000 troops were selected, 40,000 led by Marshal Boufflers to besiege Mons and 16,000 under Marshal d'Humières and another 7,000 in the Namur area to give early warning and protection from an allied force that would come to raise the siege. To make sure that there would be no nasty surprises from the allies, Marshal Luxembourg's army of some 46,000 men stood in the wings ready to engage any substantial relief army. The French troops moved early and quickly.[2]

Mons and Leuze 1691

On 15 March, they invested Mons and Vauban started siege operations. This early start surprised the allies who were nevertheless optimistic that a relief army could drive away Boufflers' army. Optimism gave way once it was learned that Louis XIV in person was on his way to witness siege operations. He arrived with the Dauphin, his brother Monsieur, the Duc de Chartres and a large suite of courtiers on 21 March. With the King present, all resources were used to procure a victorious outcome. By 25 March, trenches were being dug and batteries built. Two days later, cannon shots and mortar bombs were falling on Mons, a town of some 5,000 people with about the same number of Spanish troops in garrison under the Prince de Berghes. Nevertheless, the garrison put up a stubborn defence during the whole siege; at one point a messenger from William managed to sneak in to tell the defenders that he was coming at the head of 80,000 men, but in fact he only had about 50,000 men and Marshal Luxembourg was waiting for him to come. William did not, and Mons was definitely doomed. On the evening of 8 April, the capitulation was signed. According to Quincy, 4,558 soldiers and 280 officers out of 6,000 at the beginning of the siege marched out of Mons. French casualties were not given, but have been estimated at 2,000 men. After reviewing the troops and visiting Mons, a happy Sun King and his suite left for Versailles on 12 April.[3]

The capture of Mons was a discouraging blow to William. He went back to more political and diplomatic duties leaving the Prince of Waldeck in charge while Marshal Luxembourg remained with his army. There were many minor movements and small engagements, but it was not until the autumn of 1691 that another sizeable action occurred.

In mid October, Marshal Luxembourg's army and the Prince of Waldeck's had manoeuvred themselves within about 30 km of each other in the vicinity of Tournai, which the French held. The armies had assembled after a fashion in preparation to their dispersal for winter quarters in the areas

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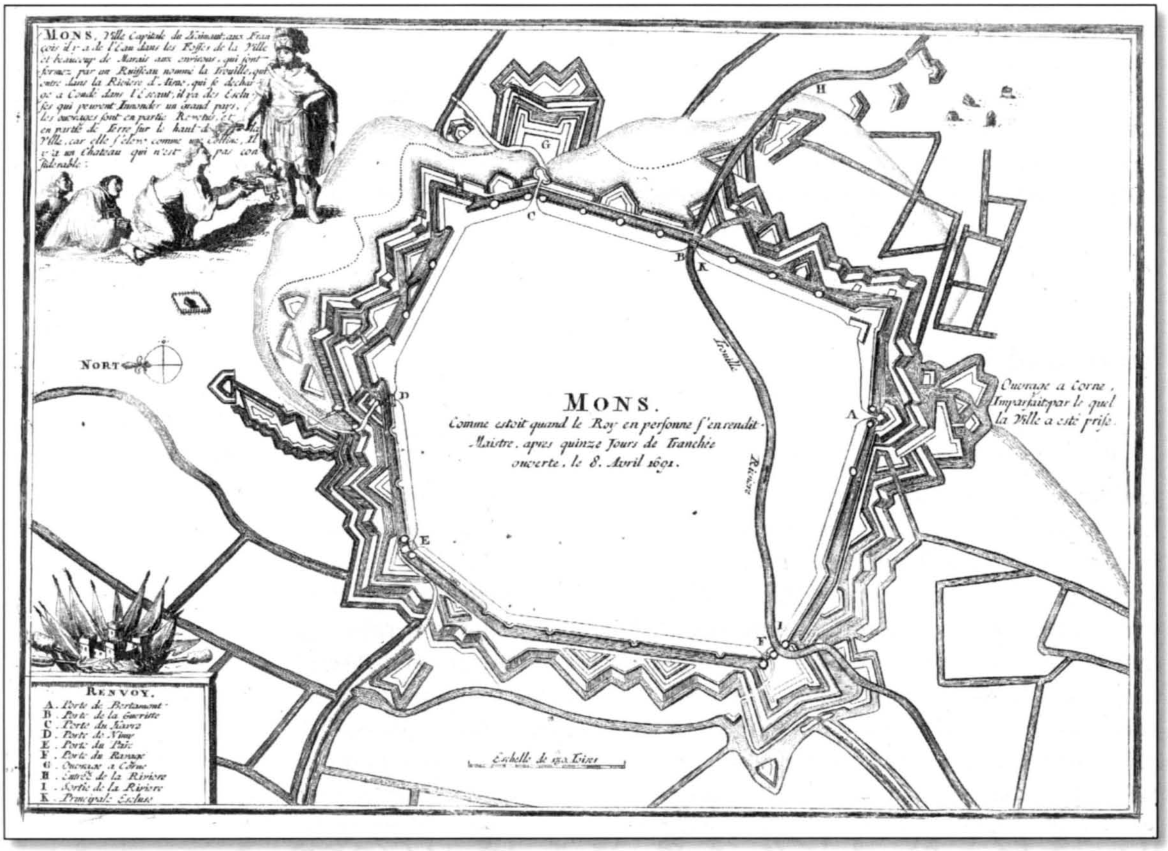
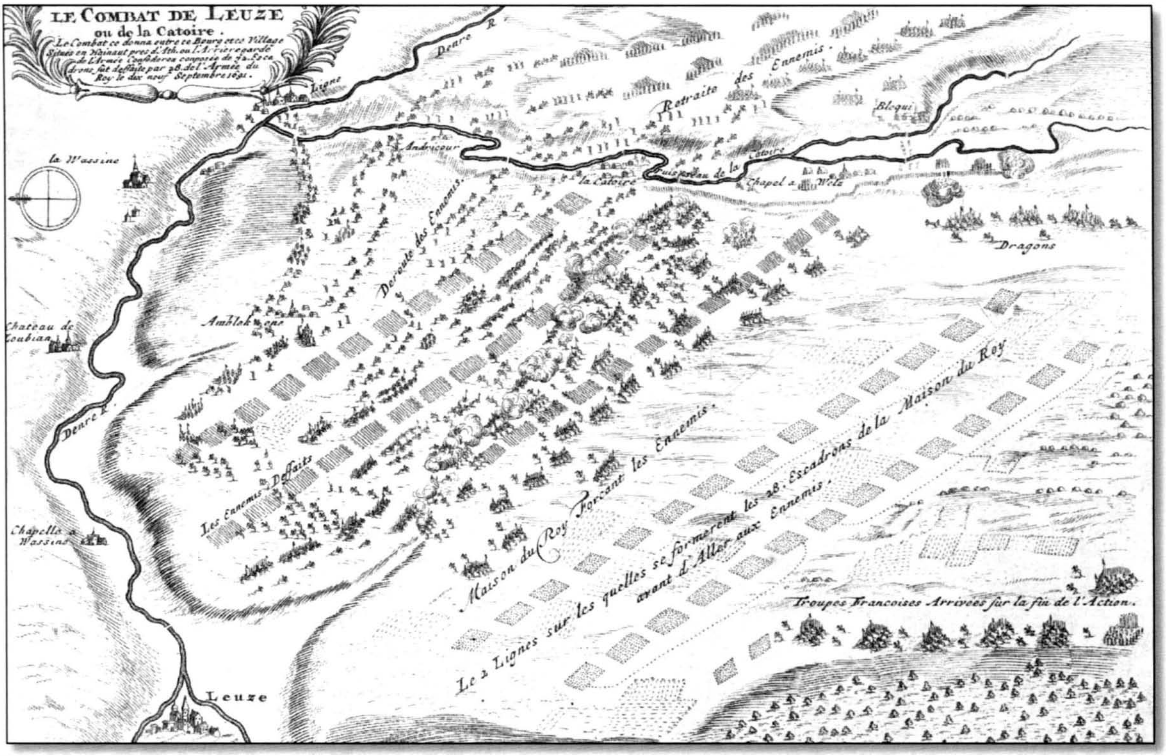
[2] Maxime Weygand, *Histoire de l'Armée française* (Paris: Flammarion, 1938); Philippe Henri de Grimoard, *Recherches sur la force de l'armée Française* (Paris, 1806), p.194; Childs, *The Nine Years' War*, p.157. For 1691, the Emperor pledged 20,000 men; Spain 20,000; Great Britain 20,000; Brandenburg-Prussia 20,000; Netherlands 35,000; Piémont 18,000; Bavaria 18,000; Saxony 12,000; Palatinate 4,000; Swabia and Franconia 10,000; Liège 6,000; Württemberg 6,000; Munster 7,000 and Hanover 16,000.

[3] Quincy, *Histoire militaire*, Vol. 2, pp.343–371; Childs, *The Nine Years' War*, pp.157, 160–162.


MONS.
Comme estoit quand le Roy en personne s'en rendit Maistre, apres quinze Jours de Tranchée ouverte, le 8. Avril 1691.
NORT
Trouille
Riviere
Ouvrage a Corne, Imparfait par le quel la Ville a esté prise.
RENVOY.
A. Porte de Bertamont
B. Porte de la Guerritte
C. Porte du Havre
D. Porte de Nimy
E. Porte du Paix
F. Porte du Rivage
G. Ouvrage a Corne
H. Entrée de la Riviere
I. Sortie de la Riviere
K. Principale Escluse
Eschelle de 150 Toises

Plan of Mons, April 1691. The caption reads: "Mons as it was when the King in person became its master after 15 days of open trenches on 8 April 1691". At right is an "imperfect" horn work by which the city was taken. (Courtesy Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. RP-P-OB-83.033A-25)

they controlled. Waldeck, whose performance was somewhat sluggish, was being discretely observed by French scouts to be moving his troops eastward. Luxembourg mobilised some cavalry and battalions of infantry and, early on 19 October, came out of Tournai on the road to Leuze at the head of some 7,000 cavalrymen that included the elite Maison du roi and the Gendarmerie de France. This was followed by the infantry and the artillery, which was to catch up if it could. Luxembourg, who was anything but sluggish, wanted to attack and, if possible, overwhelm Waldeck's rearguard. His lieutenants were generals Marcilly and Villars and the French approaching force was still undetected by the allied army until they came upon its rearguard that then tried to form a line of battle. Villars, who led the French advanced troops, wisely ordered his troopers to wait for Luxembourg's arrival. Lieutenant General Berwick first arrived with the Maison du Roi and Luxembourg soon thereafter who could hardly believe his good luck in that Waldeck's rearguard was within his grasp. He knew that the allied troops would eventually reform and immediately ordered his cavalry to attack. While 25 squadrons including six of dragoons were already engaged with five battalions of allied infantry, 22 other squadrons charged at once some 72 allied cavalry squadrons. The clash of the first charge was a tremendous on the allied cavalry and more followed as about 70 squadrons of French cavalry galloped up to engage. The French troopers broke through the mass of allied cavalrymen and pushed them back towards bridges at the Catoire River. Waldeck's infantry was


LE COMBAT DE LEUZE
ou de la Catoire.
Le Combat ce donna entre ce Bourg et ce Village Situés en Hainaut pres d'Ath. ou l'Arriere garde de l'Armée Confédérée composée de 75 Escadrons fut deffaite par 28 de l'Armée du Roy le dix neuf Septembre 1691.
Dendre R.
la Wassine
Retraite des Ennemis
Bloqui
Andricour
la Catoire
Chapel a Wez
Dragons
Déroute des Ennemis
Amblok
Chateau de Loubian
Dendre R.
Les Ennemis Deffaits
Maison du Roy Forcant les Ennemis
Le 2 Lignes sur les quelles se formerent les 28 Escadrons de la Maison du Roy avant d'Aller aux Ennemis.
Troupes Francoises Arrivées sur la fin de l'Action.
Chapelle a Wassine
Leuze

Plan of the battle of Leuze, 19 September 1691. The French army is on the right half of the print and the allied army. The French cavalry overwhelmed the allies, some shown retreating to the upper left. (Courtesy Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. RP-P-OB-83.034-65)

forming a line there and, with more allied troops obviously coming to the rescue, Luxembourg wisely did not press further and ordered a withdrawal. The damage had been done, perhaps especially to the Prince of Waldeck who was later relieved of command. The action had lasted less than an hour and some 400 French were casualties, but they claimed to have killed and wounded 3,000 and made 400 prisoners while the allies stated it was only 500 casualties; it seems to high and too low and was probably somewhere in between. As it was, some 40 allied cavalry standards and some kettledrums were captured by the French.[4]

Even if the strategic effects were negligible, Leuze was a tremendous morale boost for the Sun King and all of France for it brought what all Frenchman crave: *la gloire!* It was indeed a glorious cavalry fight in the swashbuckling traditions of French knights. The Prince de Bournonville cut down with two sword blows an enemy officer who tried to shot him with his pistol; a Gardes du Corps trooper who gave the standard he had captured to an officer and charged again into the fight; the Grenadiers à cheval who captured four standards; guard cavalry troopers were seen in groups of 20 or 30 charging without officers, regrouping and charging again. It was a memorable day in the annals of the French cavalry.

An important if unspectacular event occurred for the Sun King, the nation and its army in particular on 16 July 1691 when the Marquis de Louvois passed away at Versailles. He had a cruel tinge as seen above, but he was also a genial minister of war who is rightly regarded as one of the greatest administrators in the nation's history. Successors were a mere shadow to his masterful ability. Fortunately, the administrative structure he left managed to withstand future ministers and events of the times.[5]

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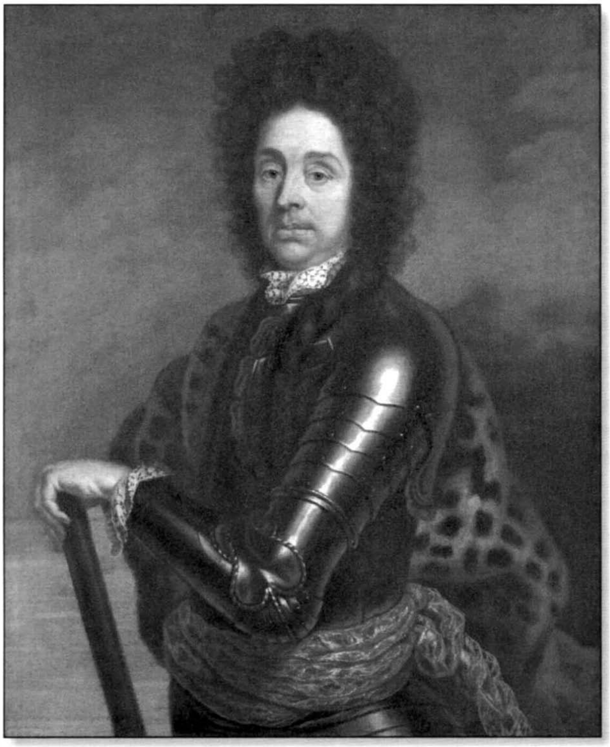
[4] Quincy, *Histoire militaire*, Vol. 2, pp.387–396; Voltaire, *Le siècle de Louis XIV*, p.247 mentions that 28 squadrons of the Maison du Roi and the Gendarmerie de France defeated 75 enemy squadrons; Childs, *The Nine Years' War*, pp.157, 174–175.



Dutch General Menno Baron van Coehoorn (1641–1704), one of the most noted artilleryman and engineer of his era. (Portrait after Caspar Netscher, c. 1675-1700. Courtesy Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. SK-A-1552)

Namur and Steenkirk 1692

For 1692, the Sun King wanted to have another great siege. The target was a grand one, the fortress city of Namur at the junction of the Sambre and Meuse rivers. It was considered the strongest fortress in Flanders and the most important of the allied Barrier Defence Line. As the Sun King himself put it, it "[allowed] communications with the Netherlands and also served for the junction of their troops. It was even a key that facilitated the crossing of my frontier into Hainaut." The fortress of Mons had fallen the year before and Namur would open even more the road to Brussels. The French army assigned up to 120,000 men for this campaign, half for the siege operations with 150 cannons and 60 mortars and half for the army of observation led by Marshal Luxembourg. French troops invested Namur on 25–26 May and the Sun King was present. Its garrison numbered about 6,000 men under the Prince of Arenburg and Brabançon who could count on Dutch General Menno van Coehoorn, an excellent engineer. The French siege operations were again under the direction of Lieutenant General Vauban. As could be expected, Namur's lower town fell on 5 June, the garrison holding out in the citadel until 30 June. The King wrote on 18 July to that the French losses "did not even equal a third" of those of the garrison. Quincy mentioned that the garrison had 8,000 men and that 2,500 marched out of Namur. William had come out of Brussels with about 80,000 men to hopefully force the French to raise the siege, but he could not outwit Luxembourg and his reinforced field army.[6]

Luxembourg's and William's armies continued to manoeuvre at a distance for over a month. Then, on 2 August, Luxembourg received a message from a

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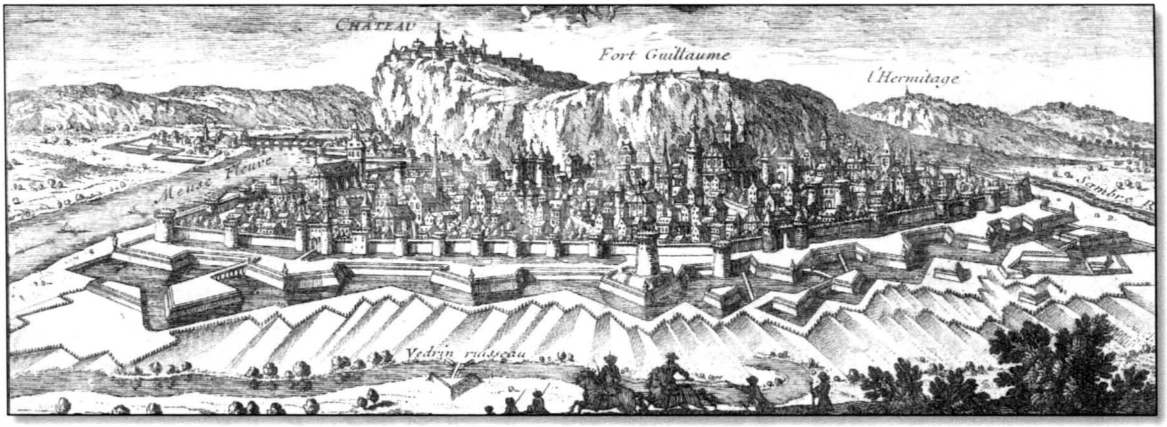
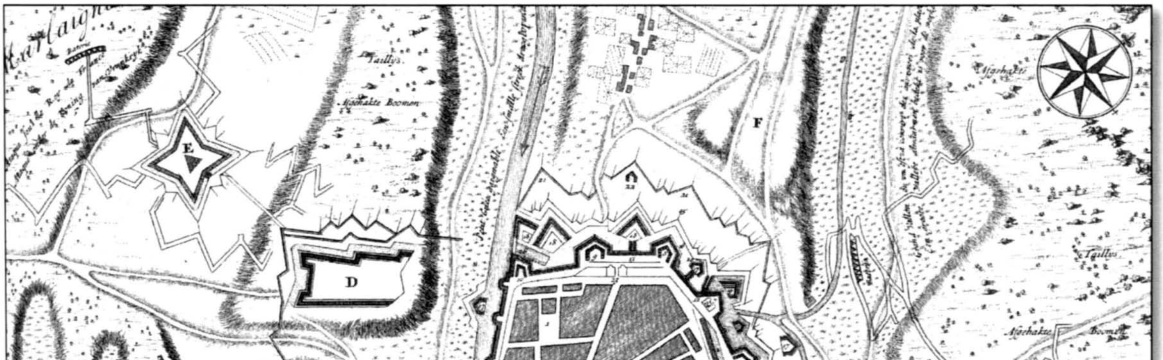
[5] Jean Bérenger, 'Louvois, ministre d'État 1673–1691', *Histoire, économie et société*, Vol. 15 (1996), pp.37–46. An especially good look at Louvois in the ministerial council.

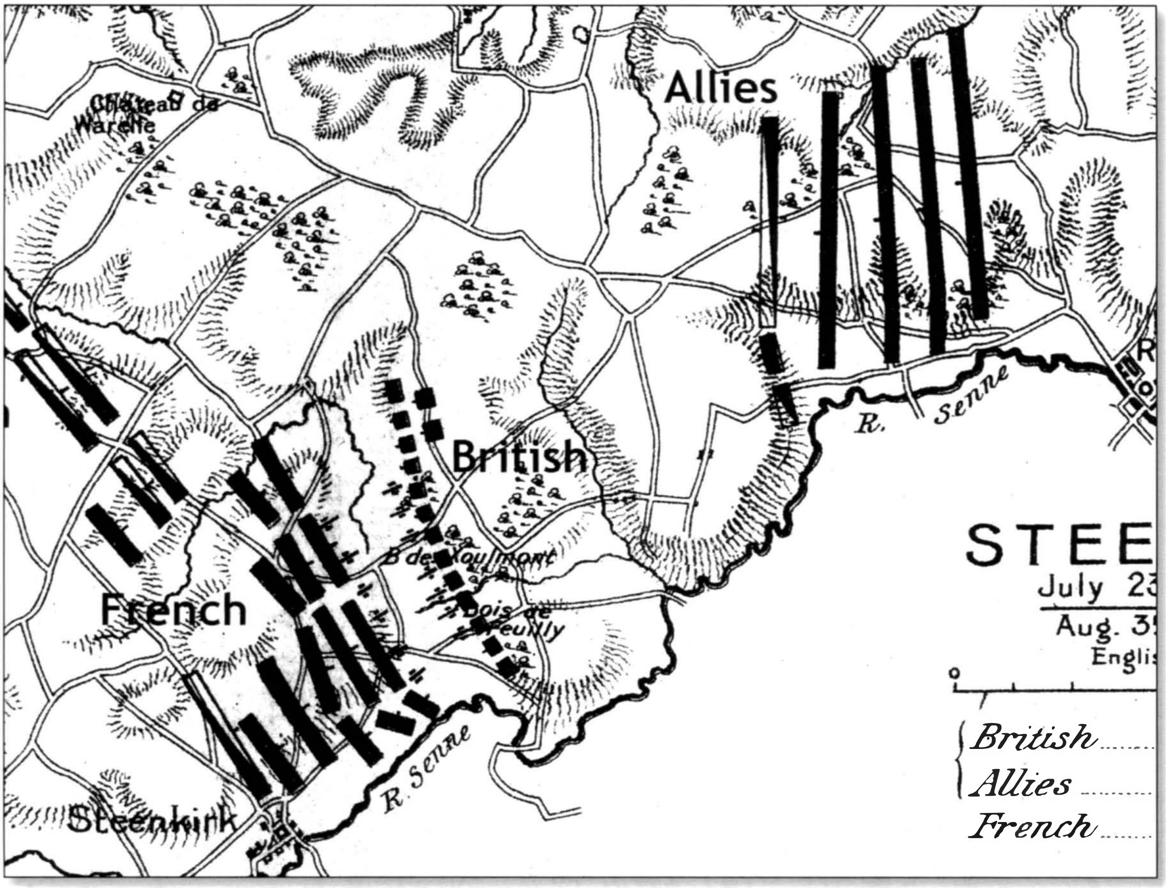
[6] Quincy, *Histoire militaire*, Vol. 2, pp.475–521; Louis XIV, *Quelques lettres de Louis XIV et des princes de sa famille* (Paris: Aubry, 1862), p.23; John A. Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV 1663–1714* (New York: Longman, 1999), pp.225–226. Fortescue, *A History of the British Army*, Vol. 1, p.360, gives Namur's capitulation as 5 June, but Childs, *The Nine Years' War*, p.192 gives the correct 30 June with William receiving the news on 2 July. On casualties he mentions the French had 2,500 killed and 3,000 wounded and none are given for the garrison.


Chateau
Fort Guillaume
l'Hermitage
Meuse Fleuve
Vedrin ruisseau
Sambre R.

Above: View of Namur, 1692. It was one of the most important fortresses in Flanders because of its site. It had two citadels, the Château (castle) and Fort Guillaume (William) on cliffs above the city, which had medieval walls and towers with, in front, a curtain wall with bastions. (Print after Pierre Lepautre. Courtesy Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. RP-P-OB-82.811)

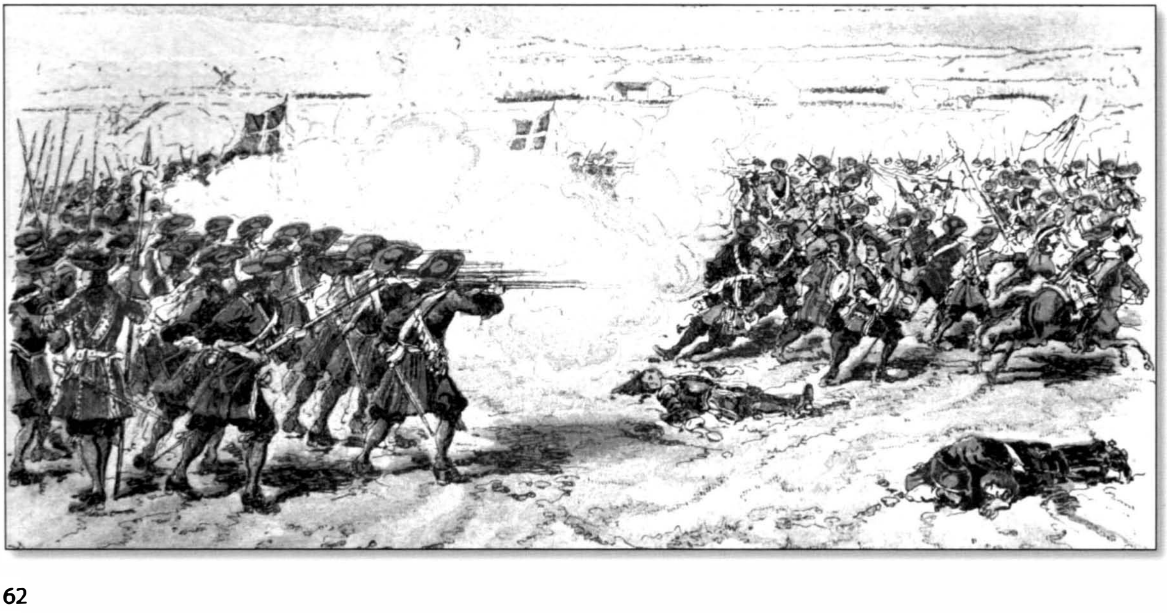
Below: Plan of Namur's fortifications, 1692. Namur held an important strategic position being at the meeting of the Sambre (upper left) and Meuse (lower left) rivers and was first taken by a French army led by Marshal Luxembourg on 30 June 1692. The Sun King was present and Vauban was in charge of the siege operations. A: lower town; B and C: castle and redoubt. D: citadel Guillaume/William. (Print after Nicolaes Visscher.Courtesy Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. RP-P-OB-82.783.jpg)

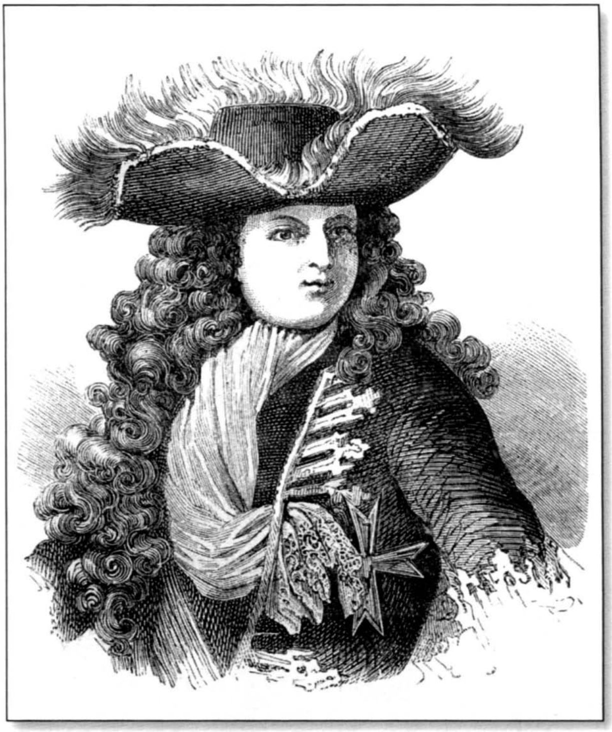

E
D
C
C
B
A
F
La Meuse R.
de Maas-stroom
Faubourg vers Dinant
Voor-Staid na Dinant
Attaques sous M. de Boufflers
Batterie


Château de Warelle
Allies
British
French
B de Koulmont
Bois de Feuilly
R. Senne
R. Senne
Steenkirk
STEE
July 2
Aug. 3
Engli
British
Allies
French

Above: Plan of the battle of Steenkirk, 3 August 1692. (From Fortescue's ***History of the British Army***, Volume 1. Author's photo)

Below: Charge of the Champagne Regiment on British and Hanoverian troops at the battle of Steenkirk, 3 August 1692. (Print after Dick de Longlay. Private collection. Author's photo)





The fashion of the cravat ***à la Steinkerque*** here shown in a portrait of the Grand Dauphin is said to have originated during that battle fought on 3 August 1692. At the outset of the engagement, the story goes, many French officers had no time to properly tie their cravats and resorted to slipping them in a buttonhole of the coat while running to join their unit. While there is evidence that slipping the tie's end through a buttonhole was occasionally done previously, when this battlefield anecdote reached Paris and Versailles, it immediately became the raging fashion. (Private collection. Author's photo)

French spy in William's HQ that the allied cavalry would be foraging near his lines the next day so he did not have to worry. The problem was that the spy had been discovered and forced to write the letter so as to put Luxembourg off his guard. His army was near the small village of Steenkirk. William's knavish ruse nearly worked. Early on the morning of 3 July, French scouts spotted allied cavalry and reported it to a sickly Luxembourg in bed; another message came and Luxembourg mounted and rode up to a height to get a clear view when a third messenger confirmed that a major attack was undeway. Such danger gave him all his physical forces – adrenalin perhaps – to find a favourable battleground for his army, re-establish his right wing under threat, rally his army, fight as hard as could be at the head of his troops, leading three charges of the Maison du Roi cavalry who were, with the British they were fighting, in Voltaire's opinion the "best troops in the world". Luxembourg had with him young princes such as the 15-year-old Philippe de Chartres (later d'Orléans), Louis de Bourbon, the young Prince de Conti with the older Duc de Choiseul and the Duc de Vendôme who all hurried into the fight with their cravats untied. The effect on the soldiers to see young princes of the royal blood risk all and charge the enemy had a great positive effect on all in Luxembourg's army. They were facing good and experienced mostly British troops and the fight was desperate and "the carnage great". Luxembourg and the Prince de Conti each had two horses killed under them. William had planned to erupt on the French right with his cavalry, but it was a wooded area and the infantry had difficulty deploying in support. Meanwhile, Luxembourg and his princes and officers had rallied everyone and counter-attacked. More desperate struggles ensued, but French pressure steadily grew on, notably, the Duke of Württemberg's 13 allied battalions. Finally, a charge of the Champagne Regiment overcame the British guardsmen just as Marshal Boufflers was arriving on the field with French reinforcements. William, who is said to have been unable to "repress a cry of anguish" when he saw them, ordered the retreat and his exhausted troops withdrew in order. The equally exhausted French did not pursue, but took five colours and 10 abandoned cannons. The casualties were hard to assess, but each army had some 7,000 to 8,000 officers and men killed or wounded.[7]

As Voltaire put it, Steenkirk was one of those battles "that produced much glory, but few great effects" insofar as conclusive results were concerned. Both sides were badly maimed and sought early the respite of winter quarters. In

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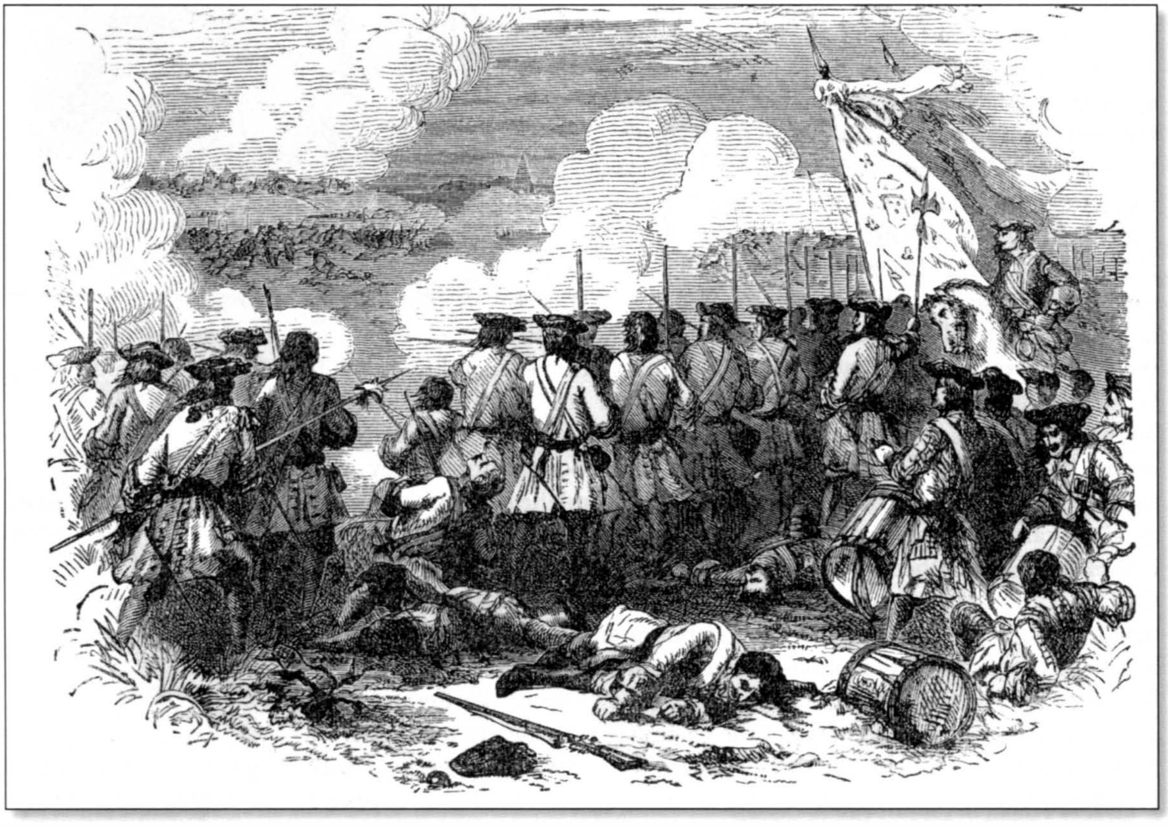
[7] Quincy, *Histoire militaire*, Vol. 2, pp.527–542; Voltaire, *Le siècle de Louis XIV*, pp.248–250; Childs, *The Nine Years' War*, pp.196–204; pp.360–367; *Mémoires du Marquis de Sourches*, Vol. 4, pp.104–106. The French spy was executed. Quincy reported French casualties at 2,457 killed and 4,509 wounded.

Paris, capital of fashion, the young gentlemen were now celebrating the "victory" by tying their cravats with studied negligence – the *cravatte à la Steinkerque* – to charm young ladies looking for heroes …![8]

Huy, Neerwinden and Charleroi 1693

No great siege was planned this year in Flanders so there were relatively few troops present in both armies who were led by the same generals. In June, Marshal Luxembourg detached Marshal Villeroi with an army corps to take the small fortress of Huy. He arrived there on 19 June and it capitulated the following day. In the following weeks William and his army were in the vicinity, so Luxembourg had 4,000 fascines built to make him believe he was going to besiege Liège; his real aim was to attack William who had 60,000 men while he had some 70,000 with Boufflers leading another 48,000 at Tournai. By 29 July, William with 50,000 men was facing Luxembourg with 80,000 spread between the villages of Neerwinden, Overlinden and Landen. The battle ensuing battle is usually known as Neerwinden, but British authors also use Landen. Luxembourg planned a massive coordinated attack



French infantry line advancing towards the enemy batteries at the battle of Neerwinden, 29 July 1693. (Print after Philipotteaux. Private collection. Author's photo)

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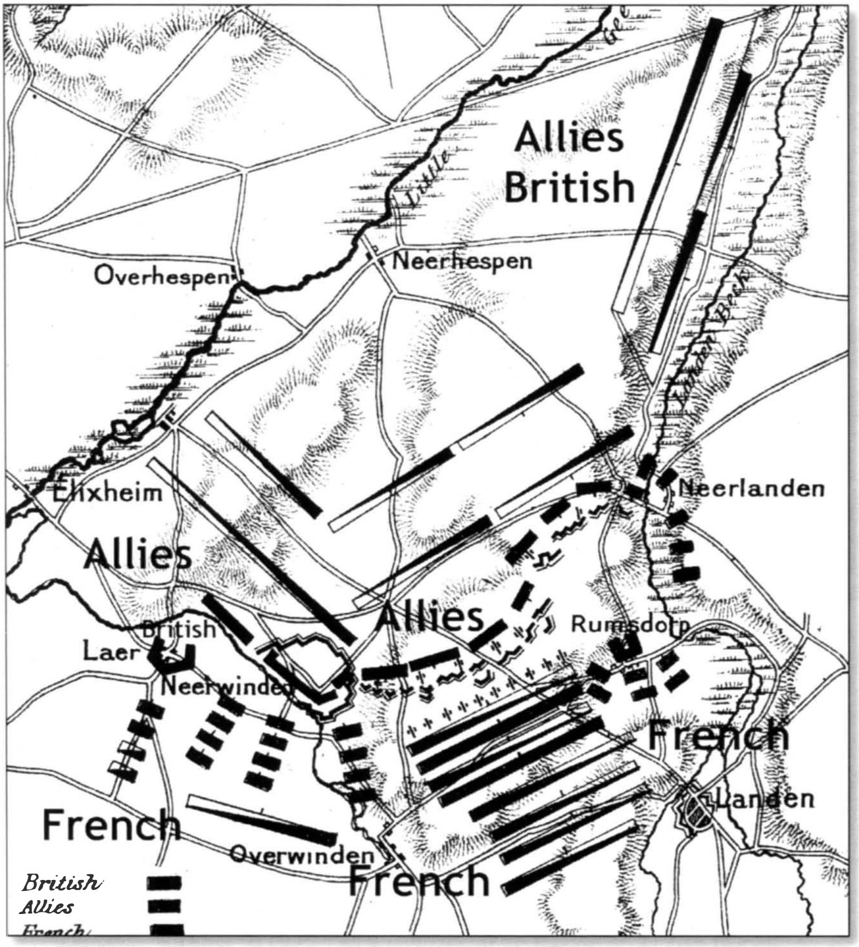
[8] Voltaire, *Le siècle de Louis XIV*, p.250.


Allies
British
Little
Overhespen
Neerhespen
Landen Beek
Neerlanden
Elixheim
Allies
British
Laer
Neerwinden
Allies
Rumsdorp
French
Landen
French
Overwinden
French
British
Allies
French

Plan of the battle of Neerwinden, 29 July 1693. This was also called the battle of Landen. (From Fortescue's ***History of the British Army***, Volume 1. Author's photo)

to crush his inferior-strength opponent, but some units did not make it in time while the allies were solidly entrenched. So the assaults were weaker and became bloody slugging engagements, with the French charging the allies three times before William's men finally weakened and a retreat was ordered. According to Quincy, the French had 6,000 casualties and the allies had some 12,000 because many more were injured once the French troops assaulted the trenches. Many more were lost during the allies' orderly retreat across the Ghette (or Geete) River. In spite of these high losses, it was not the hoped for decisive victory for either army. The French nevertheless captured 76 guns, eight mortars or howitzers, 60 standards, 22 colours and 12 kettledrums. With so many standards arriving to be hung as trophies in Notre Dame cathedral in Paris, Luxembourg was nicknamed *Le tapissier de Notre-Dame*, or translated roughly, its decorator![9]

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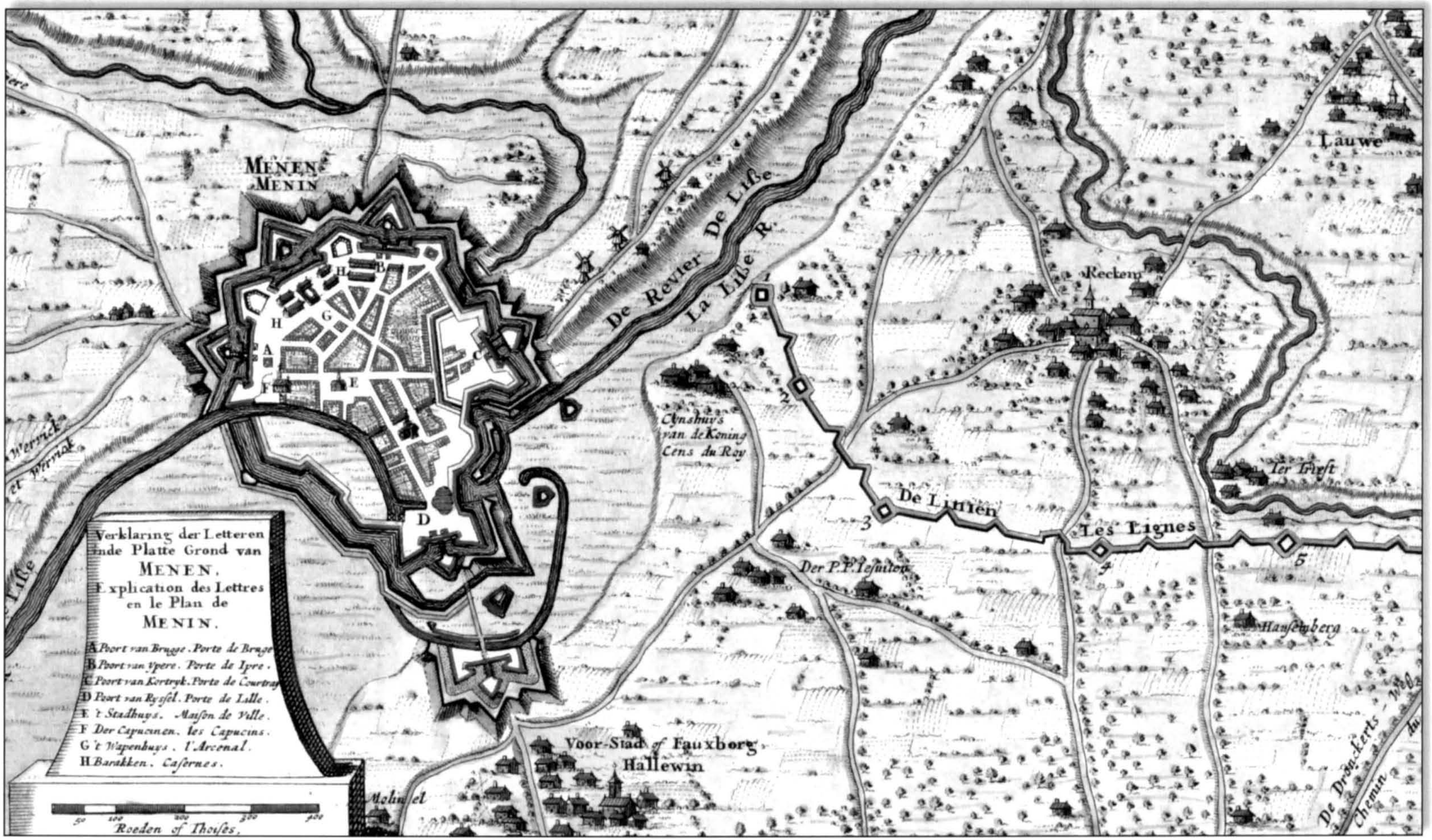
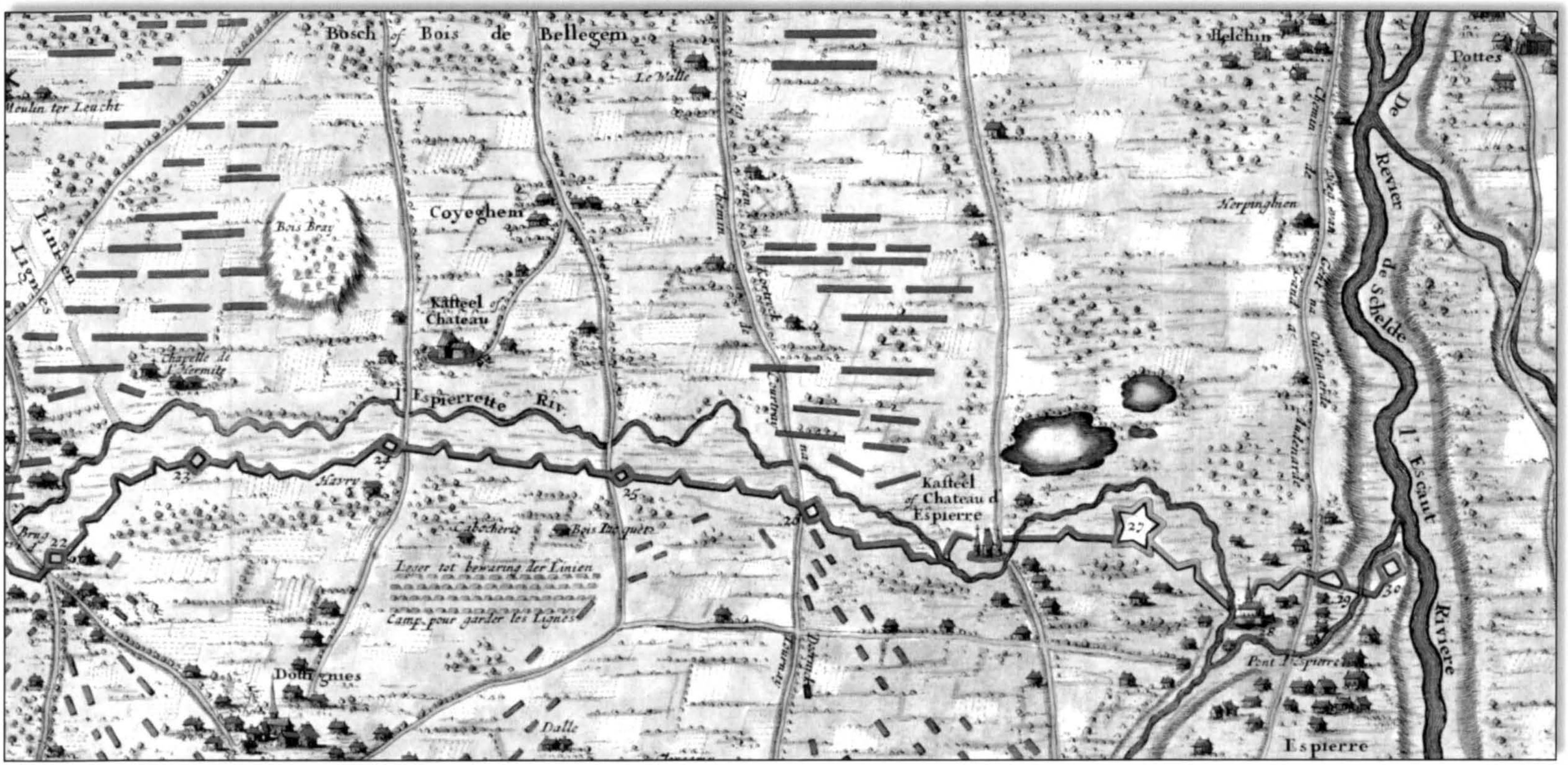
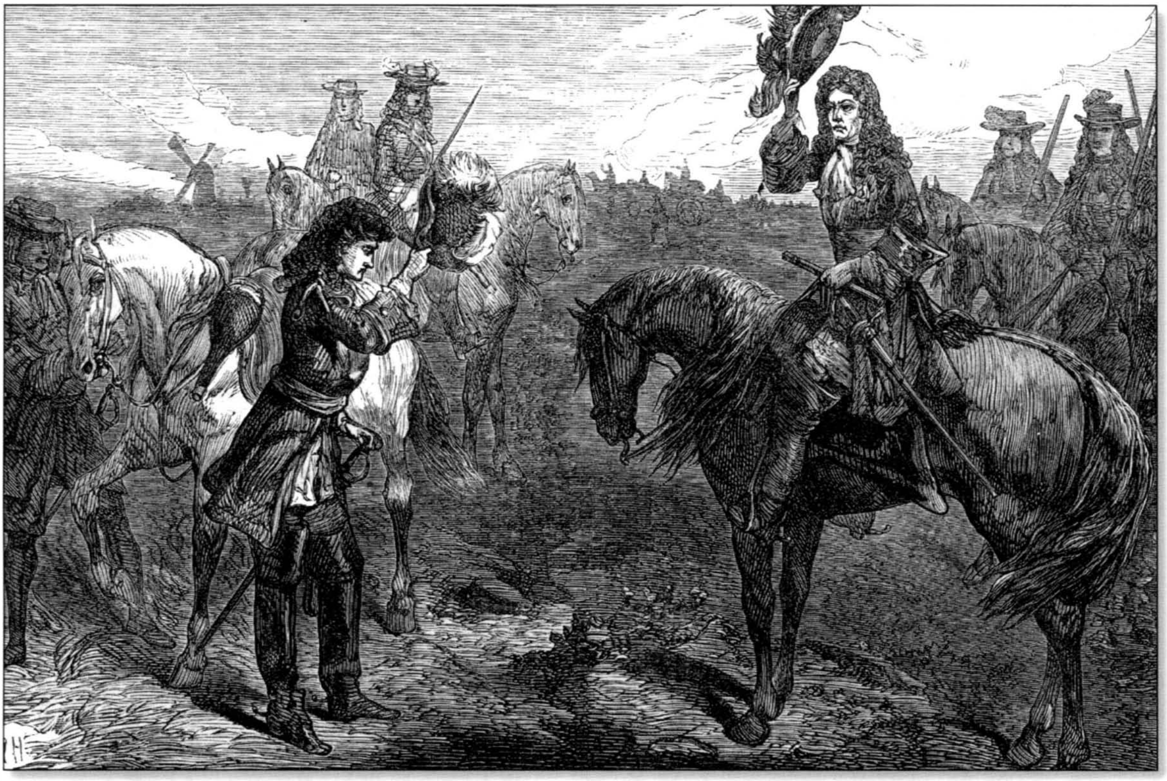
[9] Quincy, *Histoire militaire*, Vol. 2, pp.623–635; Childs, *The Nine Years' War*, pp.232–241; Fortescue, *A History of the British Army*, Vol. 1, pp.369–376; *Mémoires du Marquis de Sourches*, Vol. 4, pp.234–236. Childs credits Lieutenant General Marquis d'Harcourt with the capture of Huy, but Quincy states it was Villeroi while Sourches mentions Harcourt, the Comte de Giscard and the Comte d'Artagnan.


MENEN
MENIN
Verklaring der Letteren inde Platte Grond van MENEN.
Explication des Lettres en le Plan de MENIN.
A Poort van Brugge. Porte de Bruge
B Poort van Ypere. Porte de Ipre.
C Poort van Kortryk. Porte de Courtray
D Poort van Ryssel. Porte de Lille.
E 't Stadhuys. Maison de Ville.
F Der Capucinen. les Capucins.
G 't Wapenhuys. l'Arcenal.
H Barakken. Casernes.
50 100 200 300 400
Roeden of Thoises.
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
De Revier De Liße
La Liße R.
Lisse
Werrick
et Werrick
Cynshuys van de Koning
Cens du Roy
De Linien
Les Lignes
Der P.P. Iesuiten
Reckem
Lauwe
Ter Triest
Hansemberg
Voor-Stad of Fauxborg Hallewin
Molinel
De Dronckerts-weg
Chemin du
2
3
4
5

Western end of the fortification line built by the French army in 1692–1693 starting at the fortress of Menin and the Lys River. It ended at the Sheld River to the east and provided advanced protection for Lille, Tournai and other areas southwards. It consisted of an elaborate trench with masonry redoubts. (Courtesy Library of Congress, Washington)


Bosch of Bois de Bellegem
Le Walle
Coyeghem
Kasteel of Chateau
Bois Bray
Lignes
Linken
Moulin ter Leucht
Espierrette Riv.
Harre
Leger tot bewaring der Linien
Camp pour garder les Lignes
Dottignues
Dalle
Kasteel of Chateau d'Espierre
Helchin
Herpinghen
Pottes
De Revier de Schelde
l'Escaut Riviere
Pont d'Espierre
Espierre
22
23
24
25
26
27
29
30

Eastern end of the French fortification line built by the French army in 1692–1693, ending at the village of Espierre on the Scheld River. It was "gloriously" pierced by a force under the Duke of Württemberg on 28 July 1693. It had no great impact on the battle of Neerwinden fought the next day. (Courtesy Library of Congress, Washington)



The Duc de Berwick and King William III at Neerwinden, 29 July 1693. The young Berwick leading a French brigade that included King James's Royal Regiment (or Irish Guards), was captured at Neerwinden after a hard-fought struggle with allied troops and brought to meet King William III, his uncle, who had forced his father, King James II, into exile in France. The British version of the meeting shown in this print, says Macaulay, of these men "united by such close [royal] ties and divided by inexpiable injuries, was a strange sight. Both behaved as became them. William uncovered, and addressed to his prisoner a few words of courteous greeting. Berwick's only answer was a solemn bow. The king put on his hat, the duke put on his hat; and the cousins parted for ever." Quincy's French version related that William asked if Luxembourg repented for having attacked him to which Berwick answered he would soon repent for having waited for Luxembourg. (Private collection. Author's photo)

The campaign was not quite over and Luxembourg moved his army to the fortress of Charleroi; on 15 September, the trenches started being dug and siege operations went on until the place capitulated on 11 October after a gallant resistance by the 4,500 strong garrison led by Governor the Marquis del Castillo of which 1,200 marched out. With that, the allied barrier line was in shambles and all went into winter quarters.[10]

When armies in Flanders came out in the field in the spring of 1694, it was to find a countryside, especially around Brabant and Liège, impoverished notably in forage by the presence of large forces in past years. William was once again outwitted by Luxembourg, who notably marched around his army which totally upset the allied plans. A small consolation came with the allied recapture of Huy on 28 September after a gallant five day resistance

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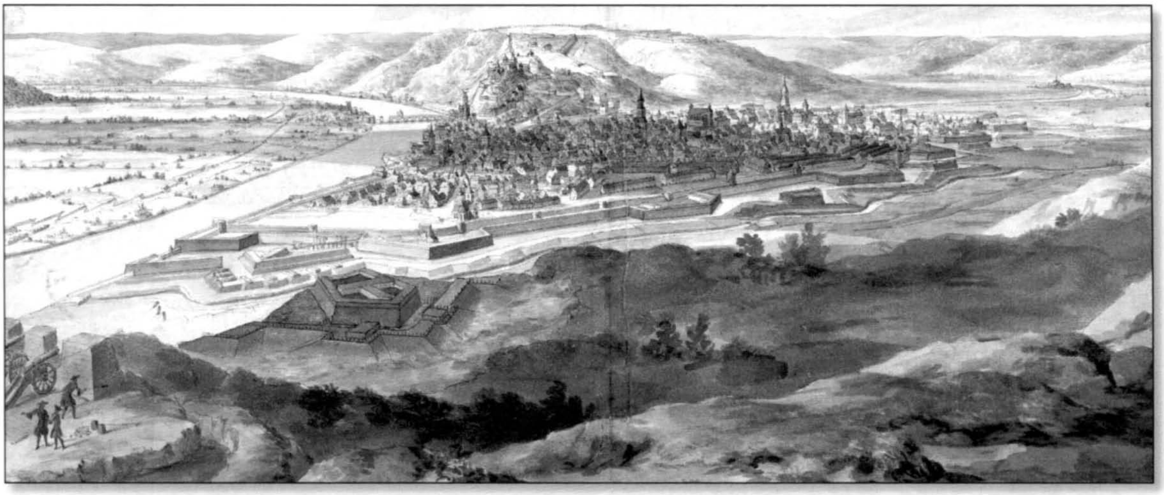
Fortescue also credits Luxembourg with taking Huy. Childs, p.241, estimated casualties at 15,000 French and 12,000 allied and mentioned reports giving 18,000 to 20,000 for each army

[10] Quincy, *Histoire militaire*, Vol. 2, pp.638–645.



in Fort Rouge by its 1,400 men garrison, led by Governor de Regnac against about 24,000 troops.

The siege of Namur, July 1695. The foreground shows the lower town and its curtain walls as rebuilt by Vauban. The castle was on the hill behind (centre of image) and the large citadel, Fort Guillaume, a little further to the right. Dutch General van Coehoorn, who had surrendered the city three years earlier, came back with this powerful army led by King William III which retook the fortress on 5 September 1695. (Watercolour by Dirk Maas. Courtesy Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. RP-T-1894-A-3024)

Namur 1695 and Beyond

A much bigger "break" for the allies came on 14 January 1695 with the passing of Marshal Luxembourg, who was 67. He had been a master of position warfare and no other marshal came close to his ability except perhaps Catinat. Marshal Villeroi, who had nowhere near the talent of Luxembourg, took command in Flanders. The allies saw their chance and made a great effort to have some 125,000 troops between the Meuse and the North Sea and to recapture the key to their defence barrier: Namur. On 2 July, King William III's army of some 58,000 British and Dutch troops surrounded Namur. He was the commander-in-chief and was most ably assisted by Dutch General and leading allied engineer Menno van Coehoorn who knew Namur very well. The fortress had been much improved in the last three years. After its capture in 1692, Lieutenant General Vauban was sent to modernise and expand its fortifications. The eastern side had three large redoubts and a smaller outer one to protect the lower town. Most of the towers were cut down to the height of the medieval wall. The fortifications on heights on the western side were also improved and expanded in the area of the castle and behind it, making that sector a redoubtable citadel.[11]

Namur was armed with 80 cannons and eight mortars, had plenty of arms and ammunitions and enough rations to last six months. Its garrison amounted to about 13,000 men under the command of Marshal Boufflers. On 4 July the ground was broken by the allied army and trenches started to surround the fortress. On 15 July, the outworks were attacked and taken

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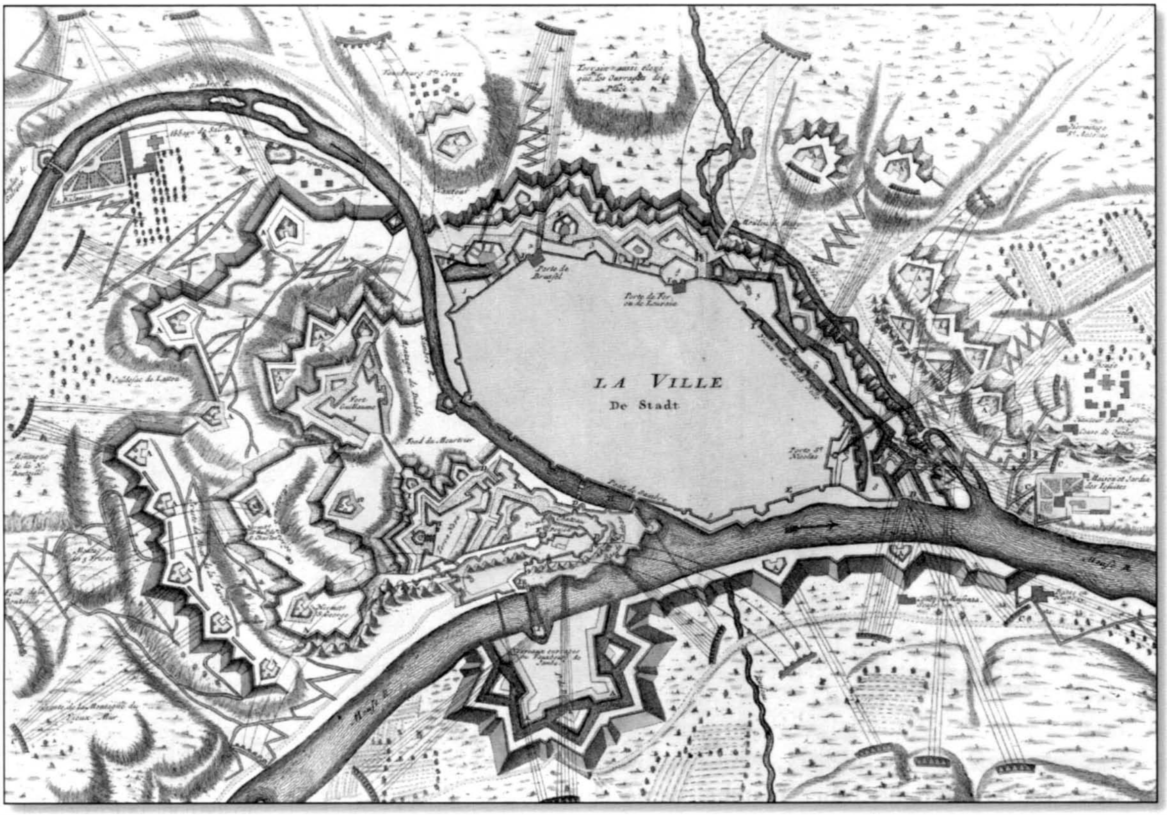
[11] Michel Parent and Jacques Verroust, *Vauban* (Paris: Fréal, 1971), pp.74, 310. Following the 1692 siege, Vauban visited Coehoorn who was recuperating from a wound and complimented him on the quality of his fortification work. Coehoorn for his part praised Vauban for the superiority of his attack tactics in a siege.



Detail of a plan of the allied army's lines and camps during the siege of Namur in July, August and September 1695. Its citadel at the meeting of the Meuse and the Sambre rivers was reinforced by hornworks and other outer fortifications after Namur's capture by the French. (Courtesy Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. RP-P-OB-77.252)

by assault. On 18 July, the suburb of Bouges to the north-east of the city, a position defended by heavily manned outworks, was attacked by British and Dutch troops and finally overcome after heavy losses driving the French soldiers to the gates of Namur. The British and Dutch attacked again on 27 July to take the advanced counterscarp between the Saint-Nicolas gate and the demi-bastion of Saint-Roch, which they finally did while suffering substantial losses. This "notwithstanding the gallantry of the French officers, who exposed themselves upon the glacis sword in hand" with their men defending every inch to the last. Another allied assault on 1 August finally resulted in the surrender of the city two days later.[12]

The rest of the French garrison huddled into its citadel. It was becoming clear to Marshal Boufflers that he would probably not be relieved by Marshal Villeroi's French army, but that he would resist as long as possible to delay further movements of the allied army. Villeroi with a numerous staff of princes was indeed manoeuvring to approach Namur. Learning of this, William left the nominal command of the siege to the Elector of Bavaria and went to join the allied army of observation; a large inconclusive skirmish took place between both armies on 30 August after which Villeroi felt he could not advance further due to the terrain and the allied strength. Meanwhile

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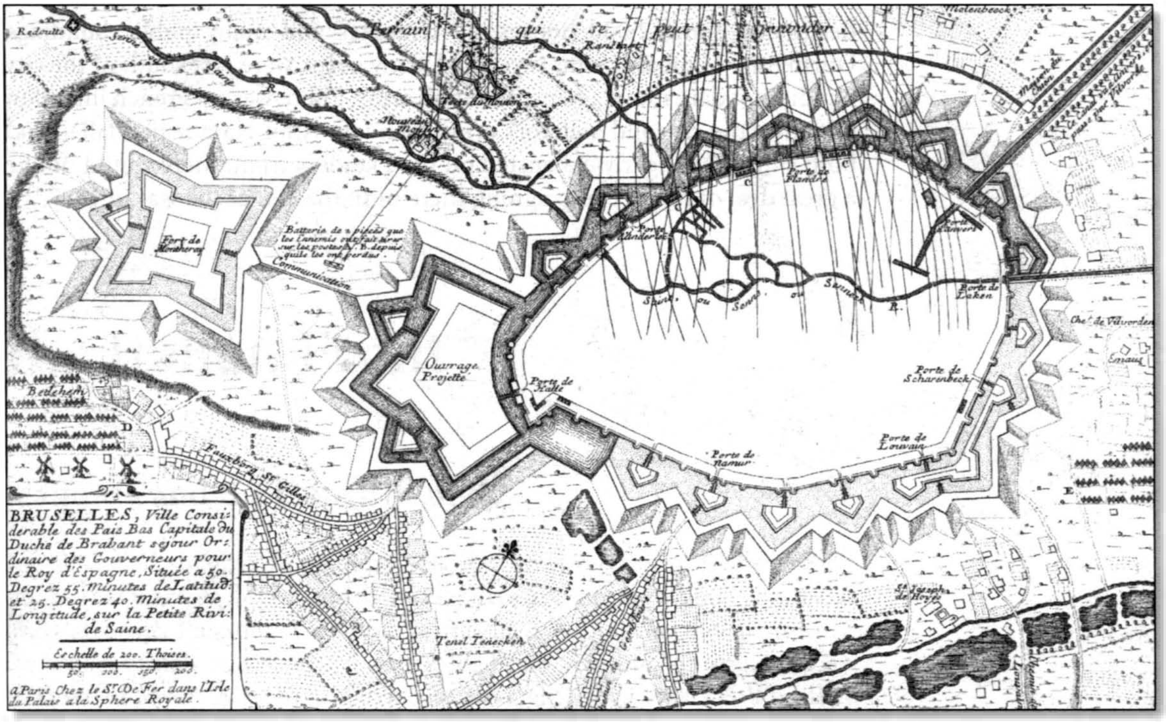
[12] The governor of Namur and second in command was the Comte de Giscard. Quote from a British soldier's contemporary account in Lawrence Weaver, *The Story of the Royal Scots* (London: Country Life, 1915), p.53.


BRUSELLES, Ville Considerable des Pais Bas Capitale du Duché de Brabant sejour Ordinaire des Gouverneurs pour le Roy d'Espagne, Située a 50. Degrez 55. Minutes de Latitude et 25. Degrez 40. Minutes de Longitude, sur la Petite Riviere de Saine.
Echelle de 200. Thoises.
50. 100. 150. 200.
a Paris Chez le Sr. De Fer dans l'Isle du Palais a la Sphere Royale.
Fort de Monterey
Ouvrage Projette
Porte de Halle
Porte de Namur
Porte de Louvain
Porte de Scharenbeck
Porte de Laken
Porte de Flandre
Porte d'Anvers
Fauxbourg St Gilles
Communication
D
E

The bombardment of Brussels, 13-15 August 1695. The lines above are the projectiles shot into the city from four large French batteries to the north of the city. Allied army corps under generals Vaudemont and Württemberg were present just to the west (D, at left) and east (E, at right), but did not intervene. (Print after Harmanus van Loon. Courtesy Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. RP-P-1910-2224-2228)

at Namur, heavy bombardment now targeted the last French positions and, following an allied attack on 30 August, Boufflers agreed with his officers that another assault might not be repulsed. The defenders of Namur marched out of the ruined citadel with colours unfurled and drums beating, having been granted the honours of war, on 4 September 1695. Marshal Boufflers was adamant as ever and was detained as a prisoner by an angry and vengeful King William III. When he learned of Namur's surrender, Louis XIV was also very upset (see Volume 1, pp.75, 121). It had been costly on both sides, the garrison having up to 8,000 casualties and the allies some 13,000.[13]

In the event, it was a costly triumph for the allies while the French defeat could be interpreted as glorious. Thanks to Boufflers' very energetic and long defence that inspired his garrison to the point of still wanting to fight after nearly two out of three defenders were casualties, the French garrison's conduct could be seen as an heroic event that was certainly not disastrous.

In the meantime, Villeroi had been ordered by the Sun King to bombard Brussels in retaliation for a naval raid on Dunkirk on 1 August. From 13 to 15 August, French artillery opened up on Brussels and 3,000 mortar bombs with 1,200 red-hot shot rained on the city for three days and nights destroying some 2,000 houses, 17 churches and many public buildings. During the bombardment, two allied army corps were just south of the city, but did not dare move against Villeroi's army. There was no French intention of taking the city and Villeroi's army then left. After Namur had fallen and both sides were nearly exhausted on the Flanders front, there would not be a great deal of major campaigning there until the end of the war in 1697.[14]

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[13] Quincy, *Histoire militaire*, Vol. 3, pp.108–151 has a detailed account of the siege and also the French version of Marshal Boufflers arrest by King William's guards, which is substantially different than British histories, for instance Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James II*, Vol. 5, pp.65–68 and David Hume *History of England* (Halifax, UK: W. Milner, 1845), Vol. 2, pp.609–610. Also, the blame put on the 25-year-old Duc de Maine (whose horse was killed in an engagement on 30 August) for the city's fall should be shared or entirely put on Marshal Villeroi (see our Vol. 1 p.99).

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[14] Padraig Lenihan, 'Namur Citadel, 1695: A Case Study in Allied Siege Tactics', *War in History*, XVIII, No. 3 (2011), pp.282–303; John M. Stapleton, Jr., 'Prelude to Rijswijk: William III, Louis XIV, and the Strange Case of Marshal Boufflers', *Journal of the Western Society for French History*, XXXV (2007), pp.87–106; Childs, *The Nine Years' War*, pp.289–290.

7

The Italian Front

Staffarda and the Côte d'Azur

The allies had sought to open another front to divert some of the French troops that were deployed mostly in Flanders and on the Rhine frontier. A likely area was Piémont (Piemonte in Italian, Piedmont to the British) on the border of Italy and France, a state ruled by 25-year-old Vittorio Amadeo II, Duke of Savoy. Although married to a daughter of Louis XIV's brother, the Duc d'Orléans, he was rather upset at France because, earlier in the seventeenth century, Cardinal Richelieu had managed to annex territories that included the fortress of Pignerol. This was recognised as the gateway into Piémont and Italy and he wanted it back. So on 4 June 1690 he joined the Grand Alliance against France, hoping to recuperate the lost territories. Things did not go as planned. The Sun King sent an army of about 20,000 men under the command of Lieutenant General Nicolas de Catinat, one of his better commanders.[1]

On 18 August 1690, Catinat won a brilliant victory at Staffarda over Vittorio Amadeo and his troops. In the allied army was young Prince Eugene of Savoy who had just arrived and had advised Vittorio Amadeo to be cautious, but he was ignored. Prince Eugene, who had served brilliantly against the Ottoman Turks, commanded the allied cavalry at Staffarda and managed to prevent the defeat becoming a disaster. Another French corps of about 7,000 men occupied Chambéry in August while Catina took Susa in November, but Montmélian resisted French attacks.

A enemy raiding party tried to take the mountain town of Colmars-les-Alpes, but were driven out by two companies of dragoons. During the next year Catinat gradually occupied Piémontese territory on the Mediterranean Côte d'Azur. taking the fortress of Villefranche on 20 March 1691 and the city of Nice on 1 April, then going even deeper into Piémont. In mid 1691,

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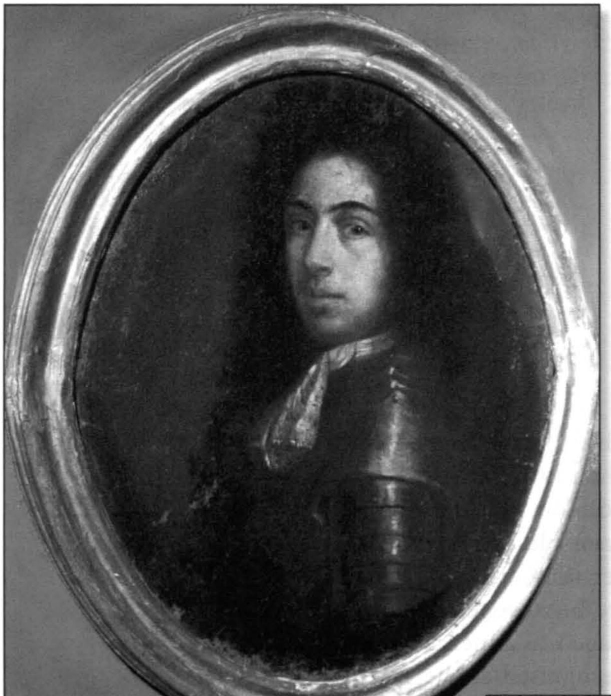
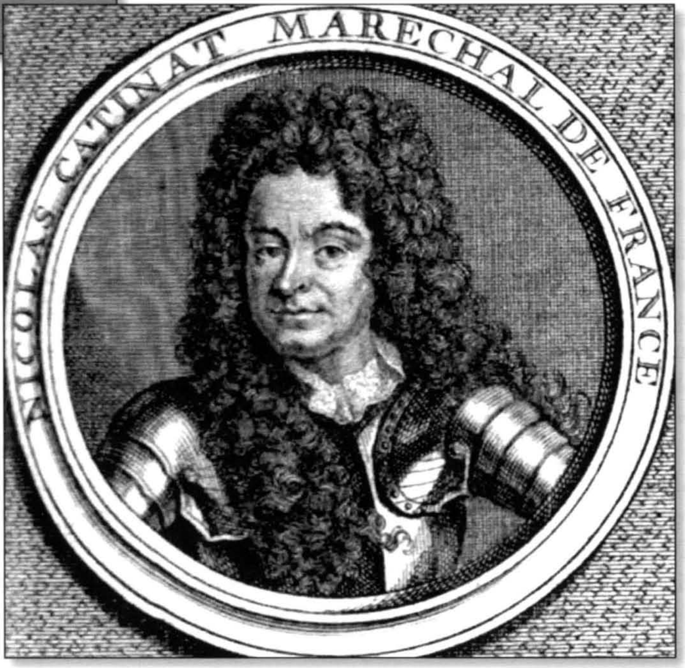
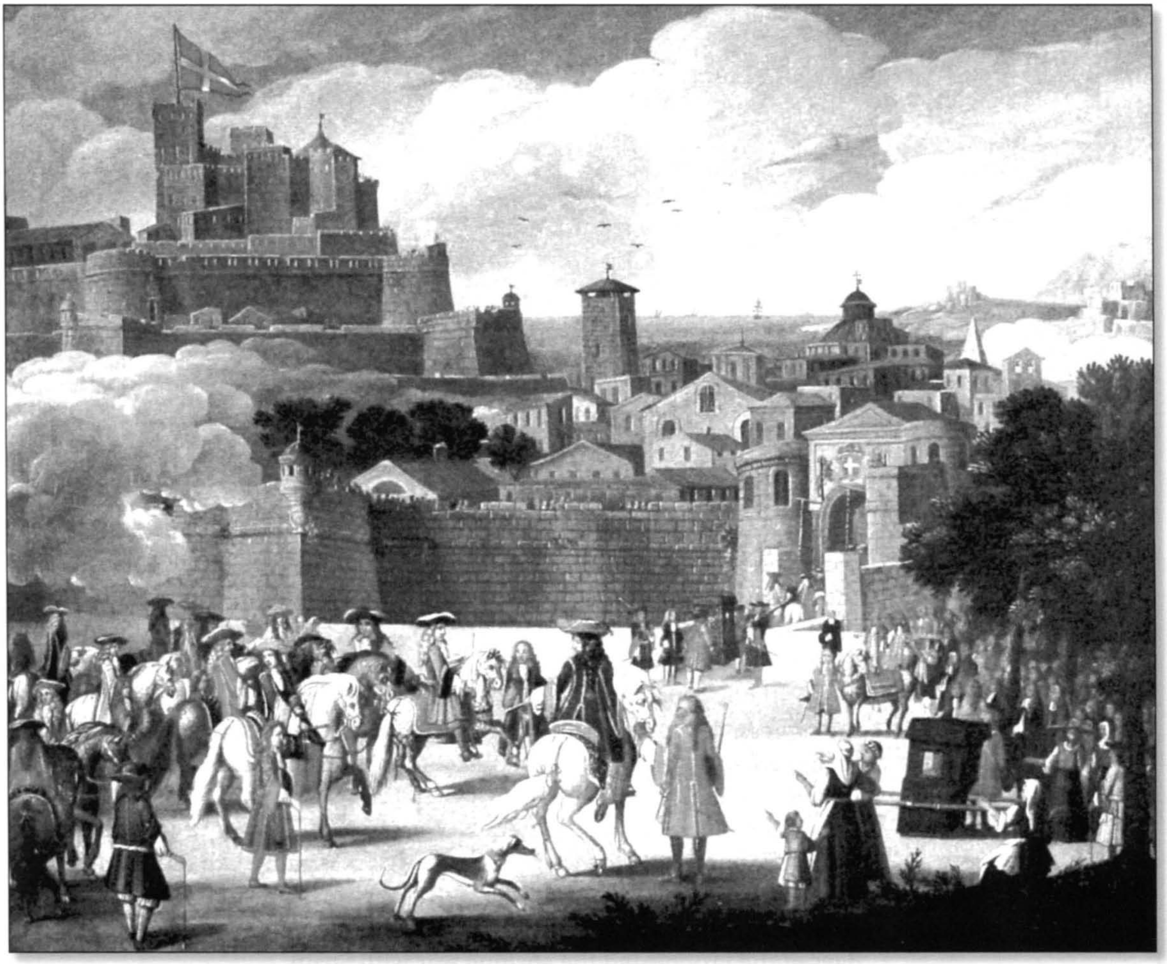
[1] We have chosen the French form, Piémont, in our study, partly because units of the army bore that name or were from that area and also because branches of the House of Savoy such as Carignan were related to high French noble families and resided in France. An example is Lieutenant General Eugène-Maurice de Savoie, Duc de Carignan, who was colonel general of the Swiss troops in 1657. Initially Comte de Soissons, he became Duc de Carignan in 1662.



Above: Prince Eugene of Savoy, *c.* 1690. Although only 27, he was already a lieutenant general and he had been personally decorated by Emperor Leopold I for his distinguished services against the Ottoman Turks in Hungary when he came to Piedmont in 1690. He saved (Unsigned portrait. Citadel of Torino Museum. Author's photo)

Below: Marshal Nicolas de Catinat, 1690s. (Portrait from a print heading a chapter in Quincy's ***Histoire militaire***, Volume 3. Author's photo)


NICOLAS CATINAT MARECHAL DE FRANCE



The city of Nice visited by Vittorio Amadeo II and his court in about 1690. The city's fortress with its old castle on top commanded the area that marked the border between Piedmont and France. At the right background, the French Fort Carré near Antibes is evoked. Nice was taken by the French under Lieutenant General Catinat on 1 April 1691. The flag and coat of arms of Piedmont was red with a white cross. (Print after a painting in the Fondation Humbert II & Marie Josée de Savoie, Conches (Switzerland). Author's photo)

the Austrian emperor shifted some 13,000 allied troops to the Italian front under Prince Eugene hoping they would help keep Piémont in the war. He forced the French to abandon the siege of Cuneo in June 1691. Catinat's army was not strong enough to keep the allies at bay while also occupying part of Piémont and had to withdraw. However, the French still occupied the County of Nice.[2]

Dauphiné Invaded

The allied objective for the 1692 campaign was much more than just securing Piémont. The plan most favoured by William III called for invading the province of Dauphiné in south-eastern France. This was an area that was said to still have many Huguenots, and it was hoped they would join the allied

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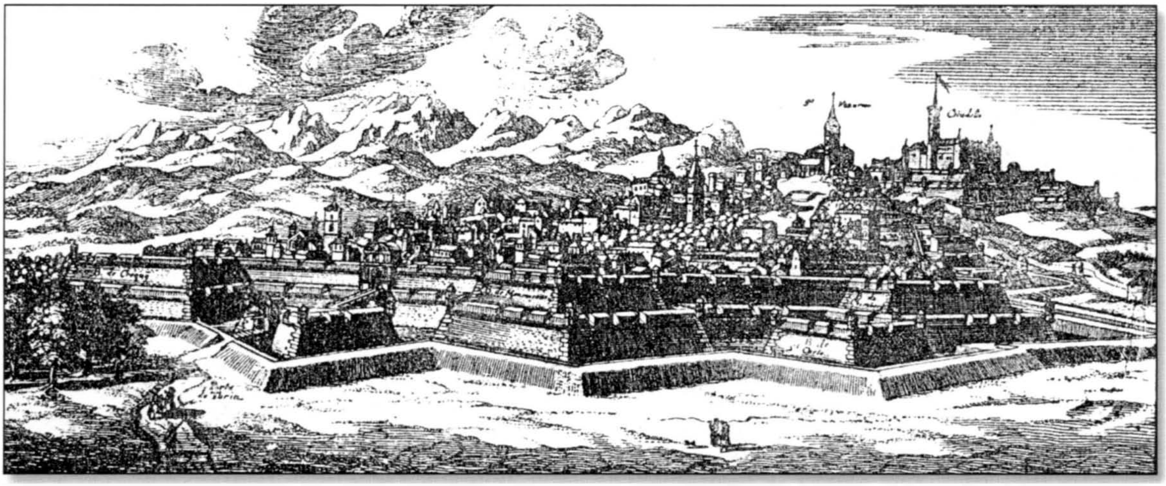
[2] Henri Choppin, *Histoire générale des Dragons depuis leur origine jusqu'à l'Empire* (Paris: Dumaine, 1879), pp.165–166. At Colmars-les-Alpes, the dragoons were in winter quarters in the area when the attack occurred and militiamen resisted behind its medieval walls until Captain Luce and his dragoons counter-attacked and captured their mortars.

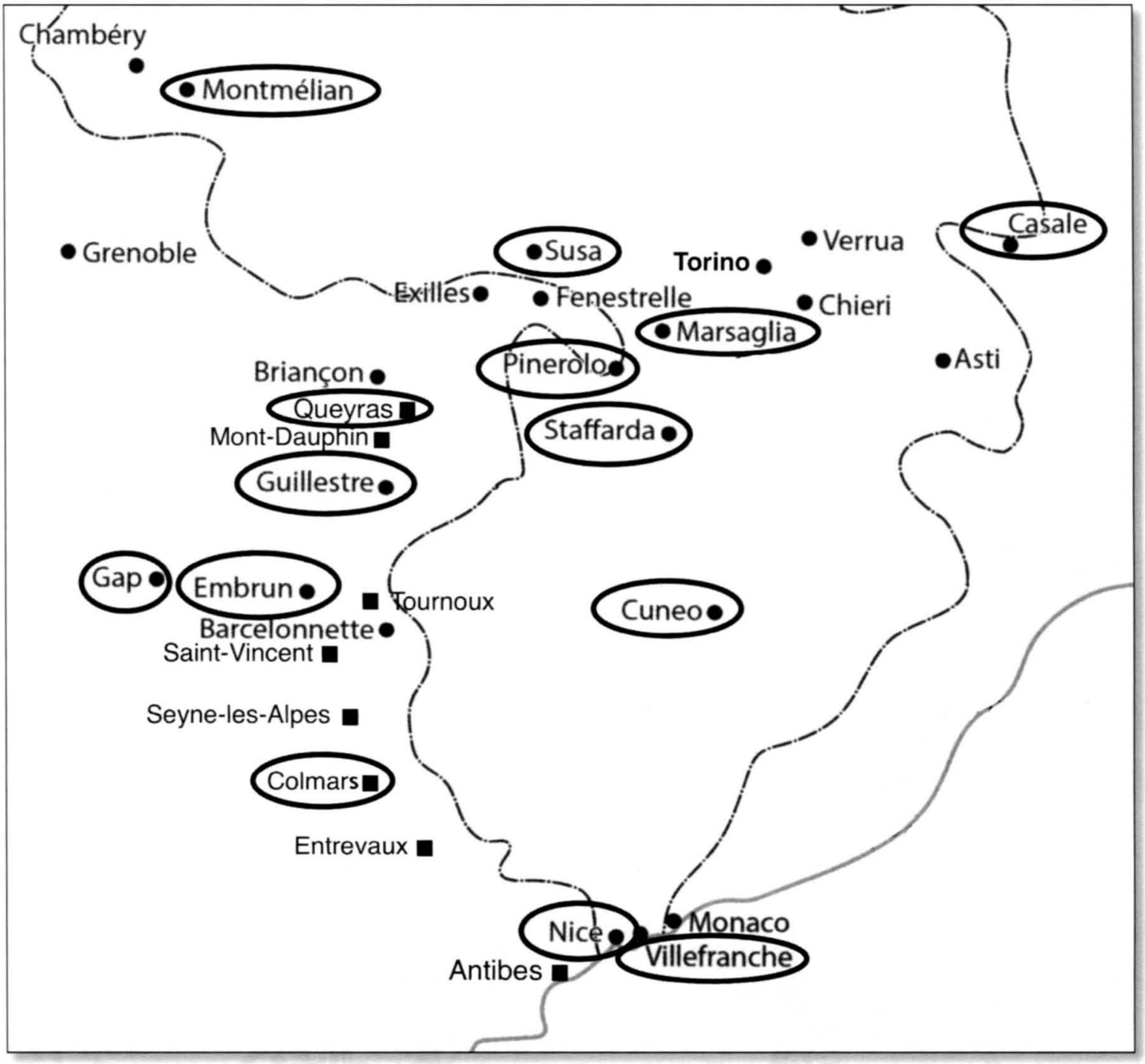


The fortress of Pignerol, late seventeenth century. It was a French stronghold on the border with Piedmont and its citadel was famous for having state prisoners such as Fouquet and Lauzun. It was timidly blockaded by allied troops in 1692. (Private collection. Author's photo)

troops to fight the Sun King's army of Catholics. Vittorio Amadeo II would recuperate the lost territories and France would be put on the defensive. For the purpose, Piémont's army of about 17,000 men was joined by contingents of Holy Roman Empire troops from Bavaria and Austria, Spaniards from Milan as well as Huguenot regiments paid by Britain. These last were unusual in a Catholic army like Piémont's, but they would be an encouragement for the repressed Huguenots of Dauphiné. The allies thus had as many as 45,000 men, perhaps even above 51,000, according to the French. Vittorio Amadeo II had supreme command with generals Caprara and Palffy leading the Imperial contingents, and generals Léganès and Louvigny with the Spanish troops from Milan. However the real figure was more like 29,000 men who, in July, crossed the French border into Dauphiné. This in itself, a substantial enemy force marching into France, was a novelty not seen since the 1650s days of the Fronde and the ensuing war with Spain.

It was somewhat unexpected in Versailles because Lieutenant General Catinat's army had become weaker and now numbered only about 16,000 men. However, even before all the allied troops had arrived in Piémont, an eager Vittorio Amadeo had moved in June to besiege Pignerol (called Pinerolo in Italian), but Catinat had positioned his army on observation at the nearby mountain area of Roche-Cotel which prevented Vittorio Amadeo from properly investing the fortress. By 20 July, Catinat knew that allies were moving in two columns for at least an incursion into Dauphiné. Leaving half of his army to watch the French army at Roche-Cotel, Vittorio Amadeo indeed marched into Dauphiné and headed to Embrun assuming Catinat would not be able to match his forces.

On 27 July, the small border town of Guillereste was invested and expected to capitulate forthwith. The place could only depend for its safety on its medieval walls that had no ditch, and three old cannons. Its commandant, de la Chalandière, only had 150 Irish infantrymen, his 600 men Royal Militia battalion and 50 bourgeois militiamen, but shut the gates and put up a fight, repulsing allied soldiers who tried to climb over the walls. The allies finally made a breach thanks to three mines that destroyed towers, making breaches, but the defenders resisted until they ran out of ammunition three days later.


Chambéry
Montmélian
Grenoble
Susa
Torino
Verrua
Casale
Exilles
Fenestrelle
Chieri
Marsaglia
Pinerolo
Asti
Briançon
Queyras
Mont-Dauphin
Staffarda
Guillestre
Gap
Embrun
Tournoux
Cuneo
Barcelonnette
Saint-Vincent
Seyne-les-Alpes
Colmars
Entrevaux
Nice
Monaco
Villefranche
Antibes

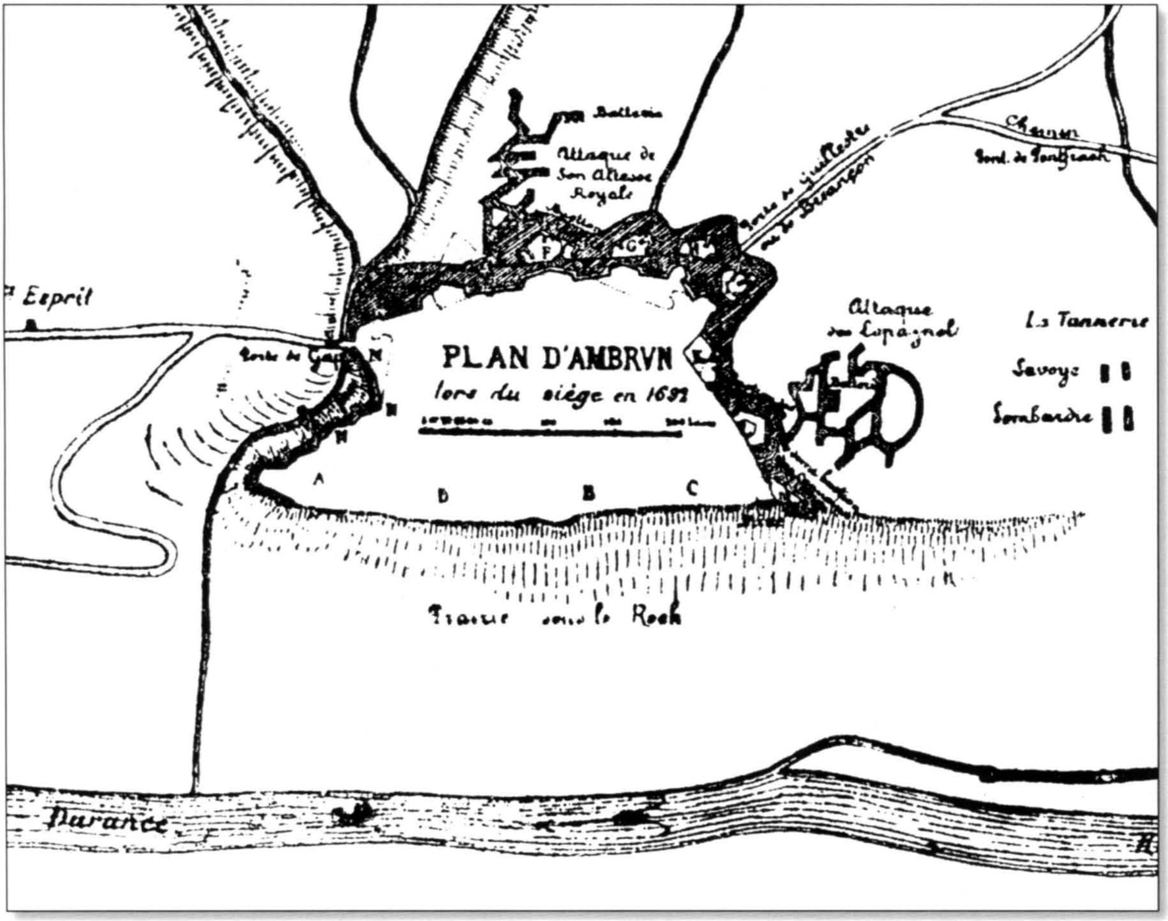
South-eastern France and western Italy, late seventeenth century. The main battle and siege sites are shown in an oval. The other sites shown by a square were upgraded or built by Vauban following the 1692 invasion of eastern Dauphiné. (Private collection. Author's photo)

Meanwhile some 3,500 Dauphiné Huguenots had joined a column of Huguenot troops under the Count of Schomberg, which arrived at Château-Queyras on 4 August and summoned its small garrison to surrender else Schomberg would give no quarter in an assault. Governor de Lesches answered: "You should know the French better; we will greet you accordingly." The next day the allied troops' musketry fire was matched by the garrison's, that even managed to set on fire houses outside the walls. When the allied troops ran out of the houses to escape the flames they were mowed down, losing several officers and up to 100 men. On 6 August Schomberg and his allied troops hurriedly left to join Vittorio Amadeo, having learned that Catinat was coming to the rescue with part of his army. It was true: Catinat had left part of his army at Roche-Cotel to watch the enemy near Pignerol and moved south-west with 11 battalions.

Embrun

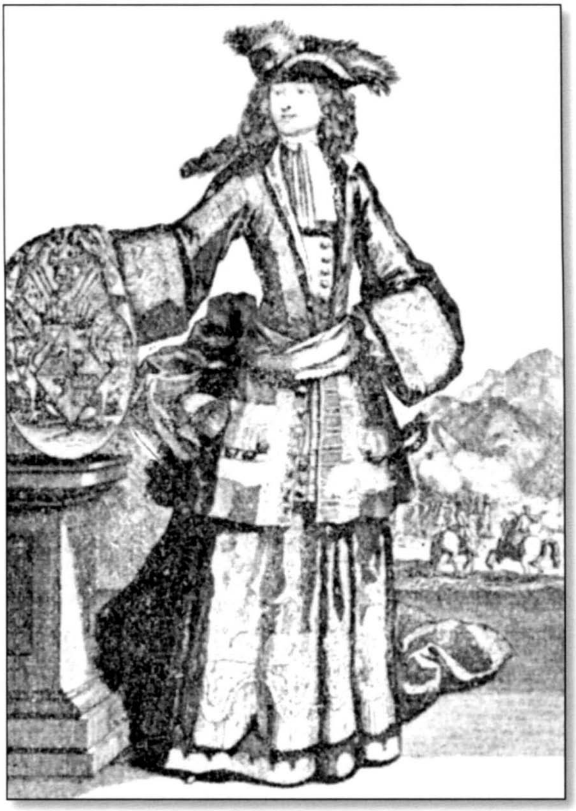
Meanwhile, on 4 August, Vittorio Amadeo with Prince Eugene were before Embrun and summoned its capitulation else no one would be spared in a general assault. The city's commander, Maréchal de Camp the Marquis de Larrey, declined the invitation. Embrun's southern and western sides were bordered by steep rock cliffs so the allies started their trenches on both the northern and eastern sides. Its curtain walls were older affairs without ditches or glacis. De Larrey had about 3,000 men who had lately arrived in this town of 2,000 inhabitants, the regulars consisting of battalions of the Navarre, La Marine, Quercy and Clancarty's (Irish) regiments with 60 dragoons of Grammont's Regiment and militiamen, some of the last being unarmed. De Larrey had scythes made to arm them, bullets made from lead and pewter dishes, *chevaux de frise* installed where breaches might be pierced by the enemy and had carriages made for 10 old cannons that were the only artillery in town. During the siege, their cannonballs were those recovered from the enemy's artillery, which was also of small calibre due to the difficulty of transporting heavy guns in Dauphiné's hilly topography. In the next couple of days the Spanish corps arrived, so that Vittorio Amadeo had up to 20,000 men. Nevertheless Embrun offered stiff resistance and kept up continuous musketry fire, notably from the

Plan of the siege of Embrun, 1692. Victor Emmanuel expected this small but well-fortified French town of 2,000 souls to fall in two days, but it lasted 10, the capitulation occurring on 16 August. The plan shows the Italian trenches at top and the Spanish trenches at right, both assaults failing. The south and east sides were inaccessible because of high rocky cliffs. (Private collection. Author's photo)



best shots armed with rifled firearms as well as by daring night sorties; one of which however, on the night of 11 to 12 August, turned into a costly affair when the French went too far.

De Larrey knew he was against impossible odds and could not be saved by Catinat whose army was then too weak. But more troops would arrive to reinforce Catinat's forces while many local volunteers in the countryside were mobilising. Time was the essence. Vittorio Amadeo knew it and Embrun, which should have surrendered in a few days if not a few hours, managed to hold out until 16 August when all ammunition had been expended, and its garrison came out with the honours of war granted by Vittorio Amadeo, a rather different fate than what he had promised. French casualties amounted to two officers killed and three wounded, 52 enlisted men killed and 86 wounded. Prince Eugene later moved west and occupied and set fire to the city of Gap, whose "flames were like a great furnace and the smoke went up high in the sky" recalled Captain Antoine Le Clerc who saw it in the distance. The allied troops might have gone further had it not been for smallpox breaking out amongst them.



Philis de la Tour-du-Pin-la-Charce, c. 1692. Nicknamed the "Joan of Arc" of Dauphiné, this noblewoman organised and led guerrilla-like groups which harassed the invading allied troops. She is shown wearing a white officer's sash and a sword, her right hand holding her coat of arms. (Private collection. Author's photo)

Meanwhile, outside Embrun's decrepit walls and throughout the countryside, a good many humble peasants had seen their farms and villages ransacked and burned by allied troops, especially Huguenots with Vittorio Amadeo's army, bent on revenge for the Dragonades persecutions and the ravages in the Palatinate. In early September when they came to Gap, which had been evacuated by its inhabitants, the allied soldiers looted the city and burned its medieval cathedral to the ground, as well as 798 of the town's 953 houses. In all, about 70 villages and towns were destroyed, Guillereste and Embrun being somewhat saved from complete devastation due to ransoms paid by city leaders.

Men and women fled to the safety of the hills, and there an amazing Amazon-like lady, Philis de la Tour-du-Pin-la-Charce, fired up their fighting spirit and soon led – sometimes mounted on her horse while wearing a plumed officer's hat, and always wielding a sword and pistols – hundreds and then thousands of Dauphiné volunteers armed with whatever they had, often some old hunting arquebus. Her men soon destroyed bridges and withdrew boats on the Durance River so that the allies could not cross it. Mountain passes were also secured and, at the Col de Cabre pass, she led the defence with her volunteers who repulsed a major allied attempt to take it. Her men used surprise tactics worthy of First Nations warriors in Canada or the future guerrillas in Spain for which the hills of Dauphiné provided good bases for swift raiding parties as well as fine terrain for ambushes; allied stragglers mysteriously disappeared and their smaller columns might come under fire from foes that quickly vanished.[3]

All this gave Catinat his biggest asset: time. By September, Vittorio Amadeo knew he had to leave Dauphiné. His columns were increasingly disturbed by Lady Philis's guerrilla-like warriors, a widespread smallpox epidemic had broken out in his army that also made him sick, the Alpine winter would come and Catinat, who was being reinforced with troops sent from Roussillon but was wise enough not to commit his army to a useless battle, was standing in the wings. The last of Vittorio Amadeo's troops were out of France by 21 September.

Prince Eugene recalled later that his soldiers said: "At least, we have revenged the atrocities of the French in the Palatinate, without doing it their way; we have plundered pretty handsomely, and raised a million in contributions", although it would appear they at least equalled the French devastations. There were suddenly wealthy Austrian cuirassiers who bet 20 Louis in card games. According to Captain Le Clair, the allied soldiers were quite thorough. When he arrived with his troops at the small town of Pontis in Provence, south of Embrun, which had been occupied by the allies for six weeks, he found that the place had been burned after looting it, its castle ravaged with a wall torn down, and that the allied soldiers had even profaned the cemetery with broken coffins being found "everywhere". They had also used rods to pry between the rocks where the inhabitants might have hidden valuables, and found thus even the bells and ornaments of the church. And woe to any female person they found.[4]

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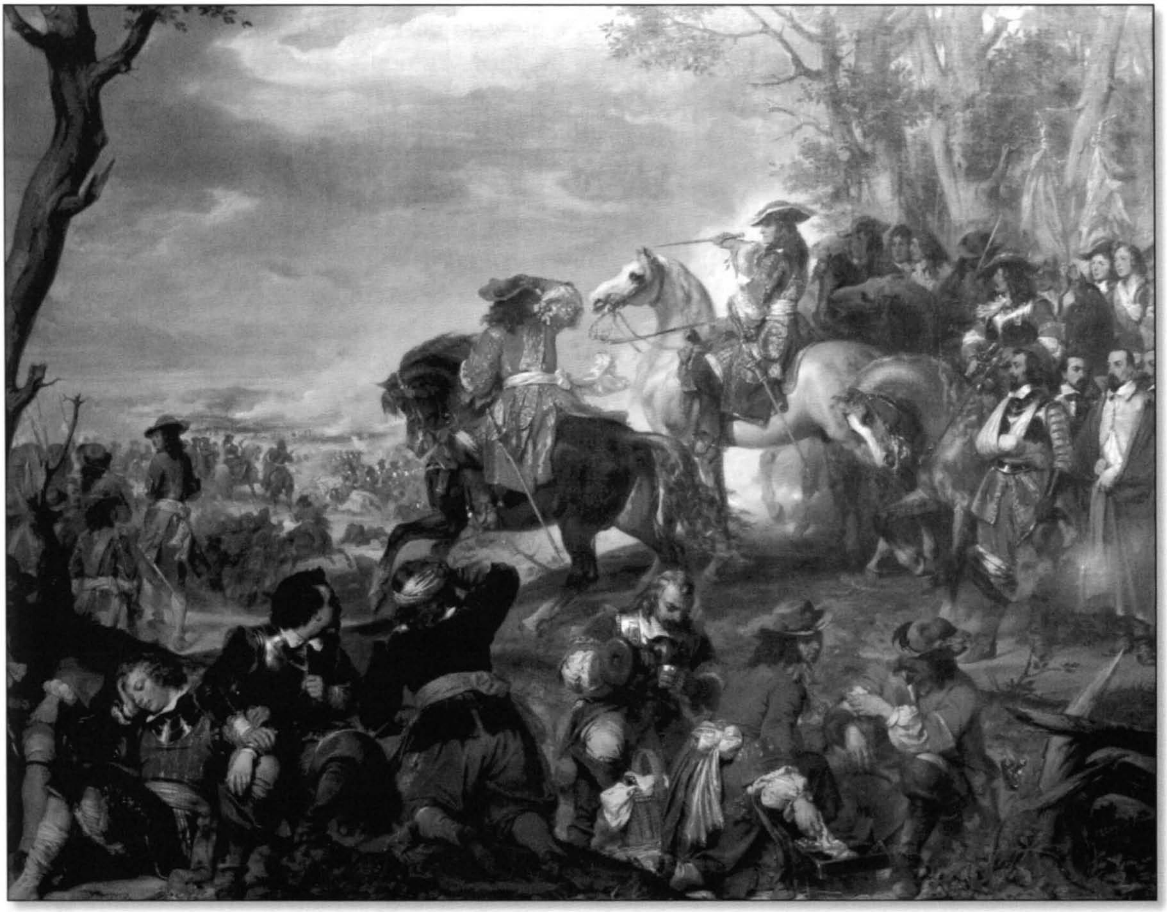
[3] This part is mainly based on Joseph Perreau, 'Catinat et la défense du Dauphiné en 1692', *Bibliothèque de souvenirs & récits militaires*, Paul Gaulot, ed. (Paris: Henri Gautier, *c.* 1890–1900), No. 48, pp.259–288; Paoletti, *William III's Italian Ally. Piedmont and the War of the League of Augsburg 1683–1697*, pp.159–168; Quincy, *Histoire militaire*, Vol. 2, pp.606–607; *La campagne de 1692 dans le Haut Dauphiné. Lettres de Catinat, de Vauban, etc.*, Albert de Rochas, ed. (Paris and Grenoble, 1874). As for Philis de la Tour-du-Pin-la-Charce, she was a iron-willed 47-year-old lady who was an attractive and gracious representative of France's dignified if humble in means *petite noblesse*. She quietly lived with her mother, the marquise, when the allies erupted into their lives. Her recruiting drive was no doubt spurred by massacres of peasants by allied troops whose remains were later found lying in their fields by French troops. She became famous throughout France for her actions (thanks notably to the September 1692 *Mercure Galant*) and was granted a colonel's pension of 2,000 livres by a grateful Sun King who also had her portrait, coat of arms, sword and pistols enshrined at the royal treasury at the cathedral of Saint-Denis. Her earliest biography is *Histoire de mademoiselle de la Charce, de la maison de la Tour Dupin, en Dauphiné; ou mémoires de ce qui s'est passé sous le règne de Louis XIV* (Paris: P. Gandouin, 1737). 'Terre d'Eygues, Spécial Philis de la Charce', *Société d'Études nyonsaise*, No. 10 (1992) is also very useful. We learn in it that she was a converted Huguenot since 1686 who certainly was a patriot above everything else.

[4] Eugene of Savoy, *Memoirs of Prince Eugene of Savoy; written by himself*, translated and edited by Frederic Shoberl (London: Henry Colburn, 1811), pp.39–41; *La campagne de 1692 dans le Haut Dauphiné*, pp.168–169, 174–175. Gap was an important city and the home of some 12,000 families. Most fled. The fate of some who stayed is related by Captain Antoine Le Clair. When he and his troops arrived, they entered a devastated city and 'everywhere we went, people would tell us of the great misfortunes the Germans had made such as having killed, robbed and raped all the girls and women they could catch, without sparing the nuns … [of the hospital, the head sister] … saying they all had suffered martyrdom pointing to one that had been [raped] seven times…' The King granted some 400,000 livres to repair and rebuild the city's housing.



Battle of Marsaglia, 4 October 1693. Marshal Catinat (on a white horse) gives directions at the final stages of the battle won by his army. At left foreground, some Spanish soldiers wearing red sashes. Next to them, French soldiers, one having some wine and another treating a wounded comrade. (Painting by Eugène Devéria done in 1837 for the gallery of battles at the Musée de Versailles. Photo courtesy of Don Troiani)

The French estimated that the promenade might have led to the loss of up to 10,000 allied men, which seems too high although smallpox may have claimed many. On the whole, not much had been achieved, Pignerol was still under the French flag and, as early as September, the Sun King sent reinforcements and Lieutenant General Vauban to shore up fortifications. Soon, three citadels were being built to guard the passes into Dauphiné: Mont-Dauphin, Fort Tournoux and Fort Saint-Vincent. Other fortifications were also added on the Alpine frontier further south at Seyne-les-Alpes, Colmars-les-Alpes and Entrevaux. The defences of Antibes, Embrun and other towns were also improved.[5]

Marsaglia 1693

By the Spring of 1693, the tables had turned. The allied Austrian and Spanish troops had left Piémont and Vittorio Amadeo had only about 17,000 men to face Catinat's army, which was expected to amount to some 48,000 men by

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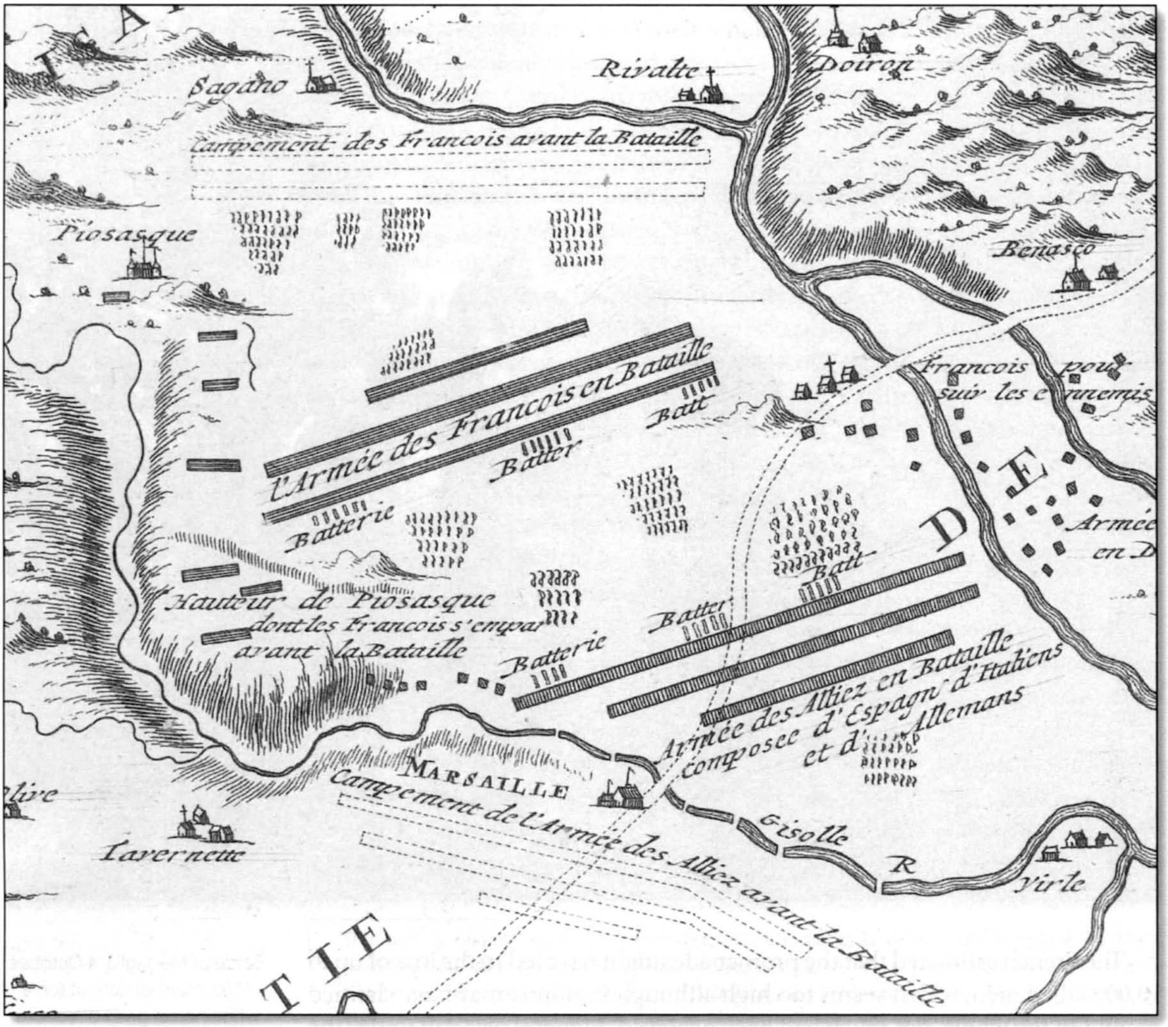
[5] Robert Bornecque, *Les fortifications des Alpes de Vauban à Maginot* (Veurey: Éditions le Dauphiné, 2003), pp.12–22; Parent and Verroust, *Vauban*, pp.73, 293–294.


Sagano
Rivalte
Doiron
Campement des Francois avant la Bataille
Piosasque
Benasco
L'Armée des Francois en Bataille
Batt
Batter
Batterie
Francois poursuiv les ennemis
D
E
Armée en D
Batt
Hauteur de Piosasque dont les Francois s'emparent avant la Bataille
Batterie
Batter
Armée des Alliez en Bataille composee d'Espagn d'Italiens et d'Allemans
Marsaille
Campement de l'Armée des Alliez avant la Bataille
Gisolle
R
Virle
live
Tavernette
TIE
A

Plan of the battle of Marsaglia, 4 October 1693. The French army is at the top half of this print, the allied army has the bottom half. (Courtesy Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. RP-P-OB-83.034-169)

summer. Catinat and Noailles had been promoted to the rank of Marshal of France on 27 March so the Sun King was obviously pleased when considering their action on their respective fronts. To make matters worse for Vittorio Amadeo, the promised allied subsidies were drying up due to economic pressures in allied countries (see below). By the early summer, however, more Imperial and Spanish troops, had arrived putting his forces that the French estimated at 50,000 men. At that time Marshal Catinat had disposed his smaller army between Pignerol to Suze. Various minor engagements and sieges followed, but what Vittorio Amadeo wanted above all was to take the fortress of Pignerol. In July, he was at its outskirts leading some 25,000 men while there were 6,000 French troops inside under the command of the Comte de Tessé. To take the fortress, Vittorio Amadeo and his staff decided to take Fort Sainte-Brigitte that overlooked Pignerol's citadel. From 5 August, the allied artillery shot some 6,500 projectiles into Fort Sainte-Brigitte which was devastated, but when the allies stormed the place on 8 August its 500 men garrison emerged from the casemates and repulsed the allies who are said to have had some 800 men killed in the attempt. Shelling continued thereafter

Vittorio Amadeo II, Duke of Savoy and ruler of Piedmont, c. 1695.For this unsigned portrait, the Duke wore a red coat with a steel breastplate edged with gold. (Citadel of Torino Museum. Author's photo)

until the valiant little French garrison blew up what was left of Sainte-Brigitte on 16 August before retreating into Pignerol's citadel. The Comte de Tessé was putting up a tremendous defence while sustaining very light casualties. By the end of August, the French only had 35 dead while Vittorio Amadeo deplored some 3,000 casualties that could be doubled to 6,000 when including wounded, sick and deserted soldiers. Still the siege went on into September, but the allies now learned that Marshal Catinat's army, which they estimated at 40,000, was moving towards them. It was true and included the elite Gendarmerie de France cavalry. The siege of Pignerol was raised on 1 October and Vittorio Amadeo marched eastward.

Catinat now at last had a superior force and was ably assisted by lieutenants generals de Vins, de la Hoguette and especially the Duc de Vendôme, a rising tactician. Vittorio Amadeo's army was in sight with Prince Eugene and Caprara as his best general leading as few as 25,000 men, since a corps had been left behind to blockade Pignerol. The armies faced each other on the Marsaglia plateau near the town of Orbassano, which was close to Torino, capital of Piémont. Hence, the battle is often known as that of Orbassano in Italy. Catinat attacked along the whole line and the charge of the Gendarmerie de France broke through the allied ranks and smashed the Piemontese guard cavalry, before being finally restrained by more allied cavalry. The allied right wing held up, but the left wing weakened while the allied generals could not decide what to do for over an hour while they saw their plan to outflank the French evaporate. The left wing broke and the French pierced the whole line which now collapsed. Both sides are said to have had about 6,000 casualties, the allies losing 24 cannons and 110 colours and standards although Catinat evaluated the losses as 10,000 for the allies and 2,000 for the French. Quincy noted further that the Huguenot regiments had been *taillés en pièces* (cut to pieces) as had "German" (Imperial) regiments. The Piemontese had lighter casualties. That battle ended the campaign. The French simply wanted to secure their position east of Dauphiné with Pignerol and the other citadels now being built. Catinat with most of his army went back into France for winter quarters at Briançon, leaving substantial forces at Susa and western Piémont.

No Money, No Piémont 1695–1696

Vittorio Amadeo, defeated though he may have been, was not discouraged and rallied up to 24,000 men in Torino. The 1694 campaign highlights were that, on Vittorio Amadeo's recommendation, Prince Eugene was the senior allied commander and he soon proved his worth by taking a somewhat repaired Fort Saint-Brigitte after only three days of siege, but this was nowhere the strategically important place it had been in 1693, now that France had its new citadels standing guard further west and stronger forces in the south-east. Even more pressing for Vittorio Amadeo were his problems with allied support; he could not hope to pay his troops without a lot more money from the British and Dutch. In 1695 occurred the "mock siege" of Casal (or Casale) which, after a rather relaxed resistance to a 25,000 men allied army, capitulated on 9 July on condition that it destroy its fortifications. Strangely, the Marquis de Crenan commanding the 2,670 men French garrison had secretly been instructed to only seem to resist ...

No other remarkable operations occurred in 1695 because secret talks were going on leading to a truce signed the following year. Help was not forthcoming from stingy allies and so Vittorio Amadeo had entered secret negotiations with his wife's uncle, who happened to be the Sun King! He was delighted at the opportunity and a deal was struck on 29 August 1696. The allies were shocked and disapproved when they learned of this, but it was too late. Their troops were out of Piémont by 9 September and Vittorio Amadeo's small army joined the French who paid up efficiently in this reversal of alliances. The Austrian emperor and the Spanish king soon realised their error, especially as Catinat was a respected marshal and the Franco-Piemontese army was now besieging Valenza. The siege was lifted when, on 7 October 1696, word was received that the war was over in northern Italy because the allies now agreed to the neutrality of Piémont. Nevertheless, the allies' arrogant position was well noted by other Italian states.[6]

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[6] On all aspects of the 1693 campaign and the armies involved, see the exhaustive *La guerra de la Lega di Augusta fino alla Battaglia di Orbassano* (Torino: Academia di S. Marciano, 1993). Also Quincy, *Histoire militaire*, Vol. 2, pp.665–699; Paoletti, *William III's Italian Ally. Piedmont and the War of the League of Augsburg 1683–1697*, pp.168–202; on Catinat in Piémont see J.B.P. de Courcelles, *Dictionnaire historique et biographique des généraux français* (Paris: Author and Bertrand, 1820–1823), Vol. 4, pp.46–52.

8

The German and Pyrenees Fronts

Holding the Rhine

Marshal de Lorges had assumed command of the French troops in western Germany. Imperial troops challenged him at Spirebach on 1 and 2 September 1692 and they were defeated with the Duke of Württemberg, their commander, being taken prisoner. But the allies were stronger, and eventually Lorges had to fall back to the Rhine area. In September 1693 Heidelberg was occupied again by the French for a short time and soon evacuated. In June 1695, Marshal de Lorges fell ill and was replaced by Marshal de Joyeuse. The strategy on that front was basically defensive, with forays further into Germany every once in a while using mainly Strasbourg as a base. There were many modest engagements between French and allied troops during the war, but neither side obviously wanted to have strategically important battles on that front.

The Sun King nevertheless had long wanted to have another mighty citadel on the Rhine at Vieux-Brisach in Baden to have "an open door on Germany, a barrier to France". It was a French enclave on the eastern shore of the Rhine since 1638 and, as early as 1674, the King had ordered that Vieux-Brisach be hyper-fortified and that a new equally fortified town called Ville Saint-Louis with an adjoining citadel, Fort Saint-Jacques, be constructed on the western shore. The work went on for years and by the 1690s, it was a formidable double fortress on the Rhine. It certainly hampered any serious notion of an allied invasion of Alsace.[1]

Raids and Sieges in Catalonia

The Spanish border was a somewhat more challenging area with the Pyrenees range of mountains separating French Roussillon from Spanish Catalonia.

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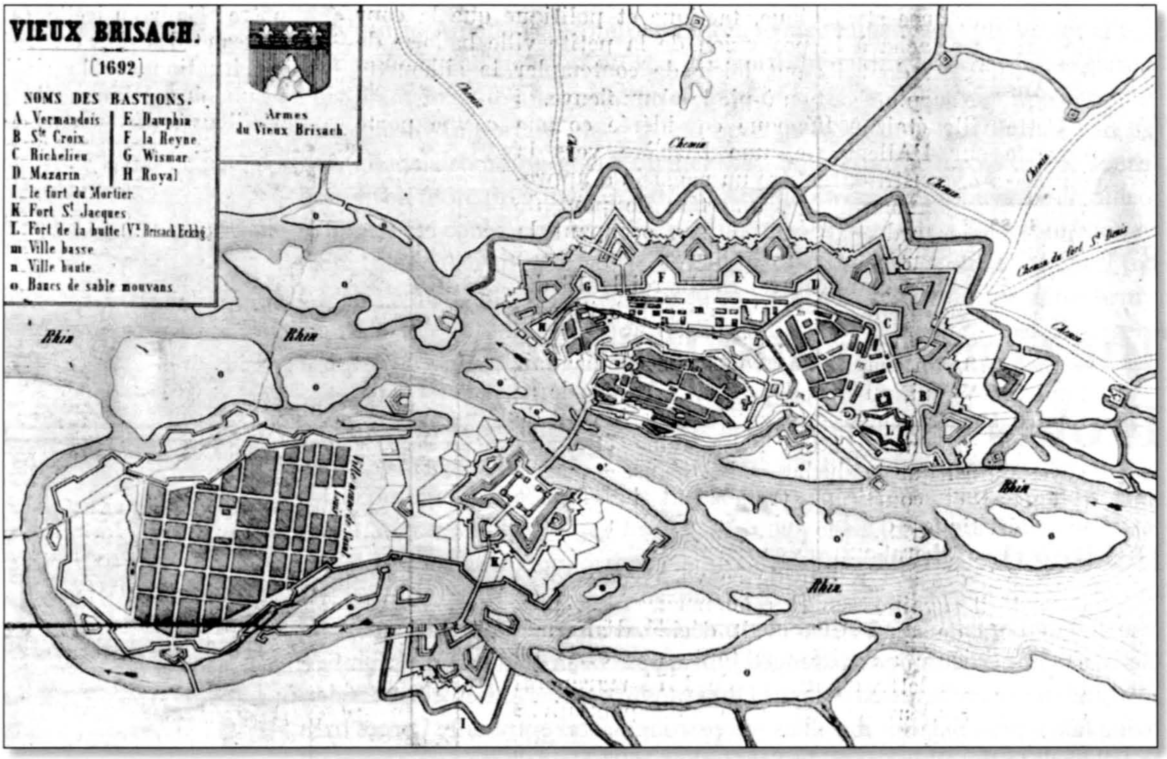
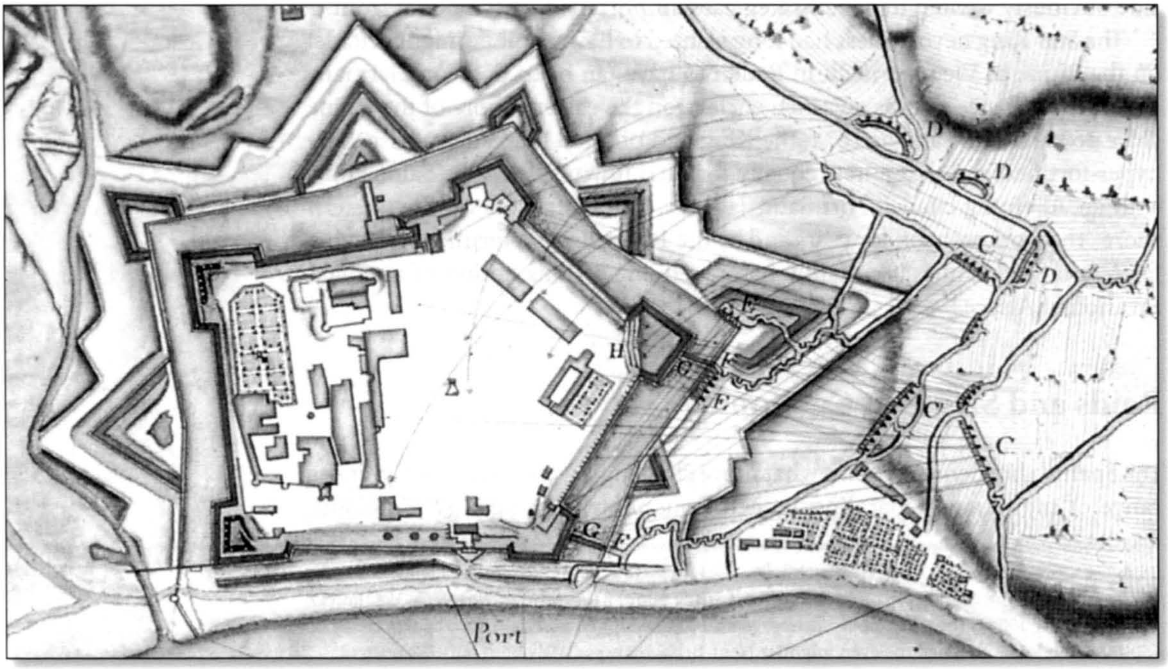
[1] Xavier Fohr, 'Une ville éphémère: Saint-Louis sur le Rhin', *L'Illustration*, No. 4985, Vol. 96 (17 September 1938). The Saint-Louis fortress town was abandoned and destroyed by the Treaty of 1698, but Louis XIV had the even mightier Neuf-Brisach immediately built only 3 km west.


VIEUX BRISACH.
(1692)
NOMS DES BASTIONS.
A. Vermandois
B. Ste Croix
C. Richelieu
D. Mazarin
E. Dauphin
F. la Reyne
G. Wismar
H. Royal
I. le fort du Mortier
K. Fort St Jacques
L. Fort de la butte (Vx Brisach Eckbg)
m. Ville basse
n. Ville haute
o. Bancs de sable mouvans
Armes du Vieux Brisach
Rhin
Rhin
Rhin
Rhin
Chemin
Chemin
Chemin du fort St Denis
Ville neuve de Saint Louis
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
I
K
L

Above: Plan of Vieux-Brisach and Ville Saint-Louis on the Rhine, 1692. Vieux-Brisach (centre and right) was elaborately fortified from the 1670s while Ville Saint-Louis (lower left) and its citadel of Saint-Jacques (lower centre) were also built. These last, being on an island, were close to impregnable. (From a print in the 17 September 1938 ***L'Illustration***. Author's photo)

Below: Plan of the fortress of Rosas, 1693. It capitulated to Marshal de Noaille's French forces on 14 June 1693. (Print after a period plan. Author's photo)


D
D
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C
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Port

The town of Collioure was the French main base while the Spanish had the great port city of Barcelona further south, one of the largest in the kingdom. Since 1689 the French troops in Roussillon were led by the Duc de Noailles, who proved to be an energetic leader and took the Spanish fortress of Campredon on 22 June. Many more engagements followed during the war. In 1691, the French under Noailles took Urgel. The Duke of Medina Sidonia, Viceroy of Catalonia, attempted to invade Roussillon, but was quickly driven back in mountain fighting by Marshal Noaille's troops.

In 1693 the Spanish fortress town of Rosas was attacked by means of a combined land and sea operation. On 27 May a naval squadron under Admiral the Comte d'Éstrées anchored off the town, being joined by Marshal de Noaille's troops two days later. The Spanish garrison of 2,400 men was led by Governor Pedro de Robi. Its citadel was Trinity Castle. Bad weather delayed siege operations until early June when a squadron of galleys with 2,100 troops on board arrived by sea and the artillery by land. The town capitulated on 9 June and the citadel four days later. Noailles was then instructed to send reinforcements to Catinat in Piémont and thus remained on the defensive thereafter.

In 1694, Noailles whose army had been reinforced to 26,000 men, marched into Catalonia again and beat a Spanish army of 20,000 men under the Duke of Escanola at the River Ter (also called Berges) on 27 June. He then took Palamos and besieged the city of Gerona which had a garrison of 8,000 men. It nevertheless fell after 10 days of siege on 27 June and the French later took Hostalrich and Castellfollit. The following year, Noailles became very ill and was replaced by the talented Duc de Vendôme in June 1695. The 1696 campaign found the French again in Catalonia where there were no decisive engagements.

Barcelona 1697

Vendôme's ambitious objective for 1697 was to besiege the city of Barcelona. He had about 23,300 men and the city's Spanish garrison was 11,000 under the Prince of Darmstadt. Admiral d'Estrée's fleet of 13 warships and 30 galleys with 150 transports loaded with siege artillery arrived off Barcelona in early June. Trenches were begun on 15 June while the fleet's artillery bombarded the city joined by the siege batteries a few days later. Many Spanish sorties were made and repulsed by the French. On 14 July, a Spanish relief force tried to break the siege, but Vendôme and his French troops also repulsed them. The Spanish garrison nevertheless valorously resisted for weeks, but finally surrendered Barcelona on 10 August. The next day, some 7,200 Spanish soldiers marched out and a French garrison of 8,000 replaced them.[2]

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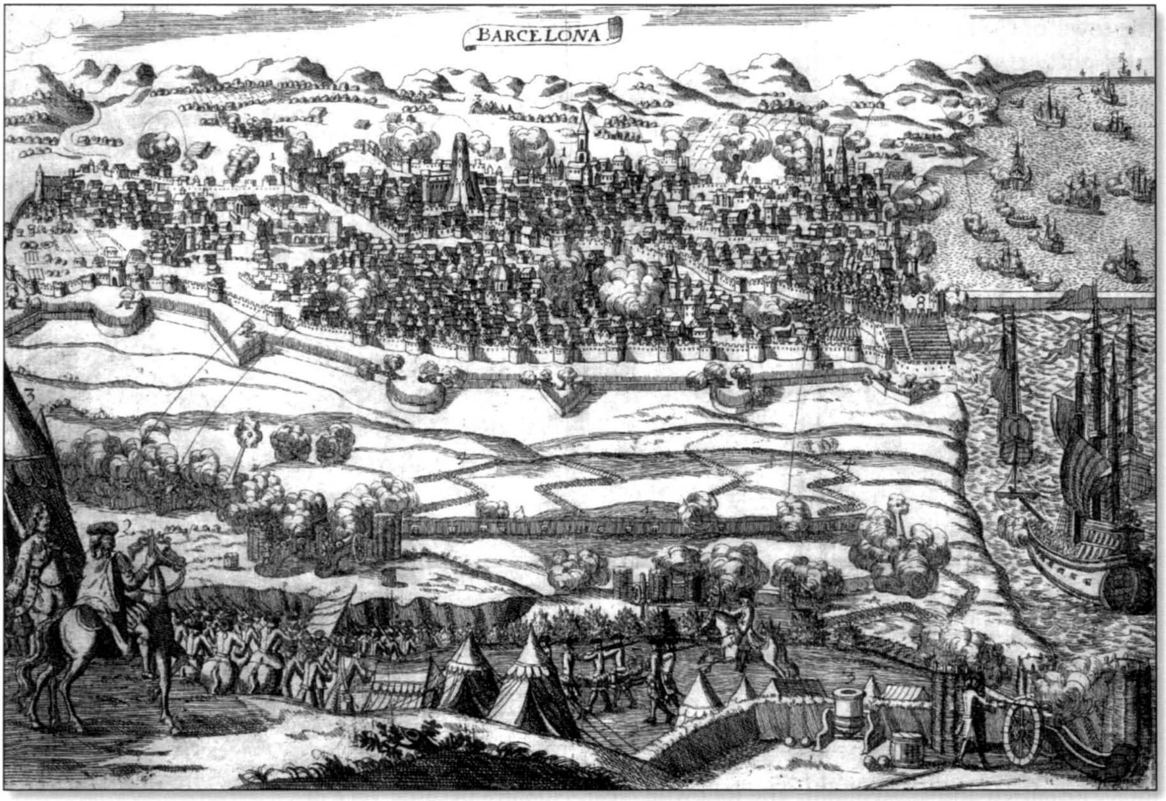
[2] Quincy, *Histoire militaire*, Vol. 2, pp.214–217, 441–449, 699; Vol. 3, pp.54–70, 329–350; Quincy, *Mémoires*, Vol. p.63; *Mémoires du Marquis de Sourches*, Vol. 4, pp.338–339, 355, 383, 463, 496; Vol. 5, pp.282–283, 291–293, 297–299, 306–317, 322–326, 381; Conde de Clonnard, *Historia organica de la infanteria y caballeria españolia* (Madrid, *c.* 1853), Vol. 4, pp.452, 455, 457–459.



The siege of Barcelona, 1697. As shown, it was a French land and naval combined operation under the Duc de Vendôme and Admiral d'Estrées. (Print after Peter Fehr. Courtesy Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library, Providence, RI, USA)

It was the last great military operation of that year. By then serious negotiations were being held that led to the signing of the Treaty of Ryswick between 20 September and 30 October, ending the war between France and the Grand Alliance. It was really a draw and nothing had really been solved. There were no clear winners, and apart from various details the overall settlement was much akin to the 1678–1679 treaties. Both sides were weary, but the French army had certainly held its own against a nearly united European coalition.

9

War, Thanks to Credit

The connection between the Sun King's wars and armies with sophisticated banking at the highest level is not obvious as first sight. In the early 1690s, France still had an economic resilience that could meet the demands associated with keeping some 400,000 officers and men on a war footing. Its population was still much larger than other European nations and it still produced great wealth in spite of its inequitable tax systems. The financial challenges resided more in that, to fund an army that would increase by hundreds of thousands of men in a short span of time, considerable sums had to be secured in a short time. One of the greatest problems was that it simply could not be done quickly because the maze of taxes had no uniformity, were very complex in their legalities as well as to whom they actually applied, were very often difficult to collect and therefore would take a while to reach the royal treasury. Although taxes such as the *taille* and the *Gabelle* had their own police forces, their archers had to intervene in acute situations of smuggling, evasion and – usually with assistance from army units – tax revolts. Such legal repression was aimed at cowing the taxpaying population by exemplary judicial procedures such as public executions, but, on the whole, it did not speed up revenue payments to the Crown.

Controller-General of finance Colbert passed away in 1683 and was succeeded by Claude Le Pelletier until 1689, then by Louis Phélypeaux Comte de Pontchartrain who filled this ministerial post until 1699. They were all hardworking officials who faced, with various ability, increased pressures and changing movements in the overall economy of Europe as well as that of France.[1]

Money and Credit Within France

In the wings of the public fiscal situation stood an increasingly numerous group of individuals who flourished in seventeenth-century France to the

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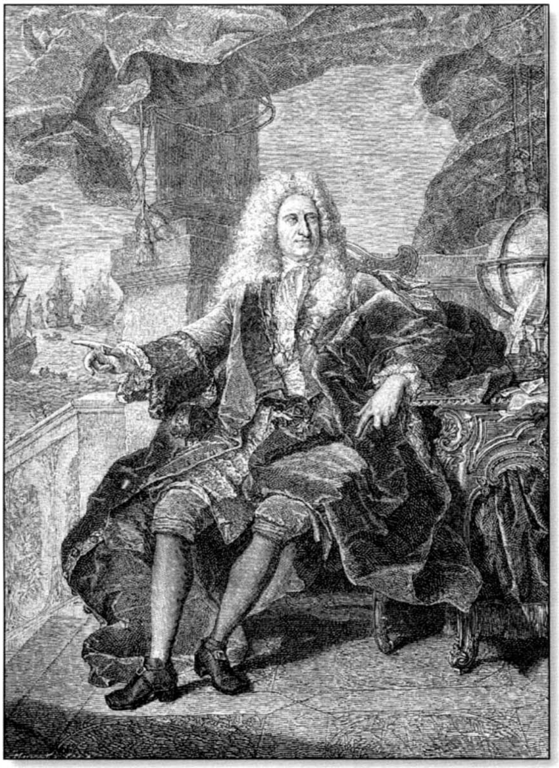
[1] Adrien Richer, *Vie des surintendants des finances et des controleurs-généraux* (Paris: Debray, 1790), Vol. 2, pp.389–399.



Samuel Bernard, early eighteenth century. Bernard (1651-1739), he was said to be the most important banker in Europe and lent great sums to the Sun King, notably in 1708 for financing the war saying he would rather risk ruin then leave his king in an embarrassing situation. The portrait shows he was awarded the prestigious Order of the Saint-Esprit by the King. (Print after Hyacinthe Rigaud. Private collection. Author's photo)

point of being nicknamed "The Fourth Estate" denoting its wealth and therefore its power in the realm. This was the *Bourgeoisie* (which can very loosely be translated as the upper middle class nowadays) which was the expanding business class involved in a myriad of commercial and manufacturing ventures that often concerned the armed forces. Some of the most successful Bourgeois, notably members of local parliaments, had also been successful at tax collecting and, on the whole, an increasing number of capitalist families emerged that would lend money directly to the King's government as bankers. Amongst the top financiers we find the Bauÿn brothers, the Berthelot family and Samuel Daliès de La Tour who had interests in the armaments industry. As for the French Jew Samuel Bernard, he was said by Saint-Simon to be the most famous and richest banker "who made the largest commerce of money" in Europe. He perhaps proved it in 1708 when the King, needing to fund further the War of the Spanish Succession, met and obtained what he needed from Bernard. His biographer concluded that "without him, Louis XIV could not have continued his military campaigns and his kingdom would not have remained a preponderant power."[2]

Government recourse to credit was not a new phenomena anywhere. Such stratagems were certainly long-standing; Cardinal Richelieu had depended on Dutch bankers and Cardinal Mazarin sought Italian bankers in the mid seventeenth century. While the data for a precise overall assessment of France's wealth, revenue and credit situation is either vanished or yet to be researched, it is clear that in Louis XIV's reign the enormous sums required to keep huge armies in the field and build or rebuild hundreds of fortresses were always found. Even more telling is that an estimated 90 percent of the capital was now raised in France.[3]

Bankruptcy Propaganda

The actual raising of such important sums *within the kingdom* contradicts much that has been written about the (apparent) ruin of France in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Since the eighteenth century, a stream of histories and even schoolbooks published in France as well as everywhere else affirmed that the nation, after a vigorous economic "boom" in the 1660s thanks to Minister Colbert, then slowly but surely went into misery and a sort of perpetual government pauperism with veiled bankruptcy. This was caused, the story goes, because of the Sun King's unlimited spending on building Versailles, on ever-lavish court life, on enormous public works like fortresses and canals, on not listening to Colbert's pleas for moderation, on ruining the economically virtuous Huguenots, on overseas adventure and the list goes on and on with, as the prime culprit, the enormous French armies and next-to-permanent wars.

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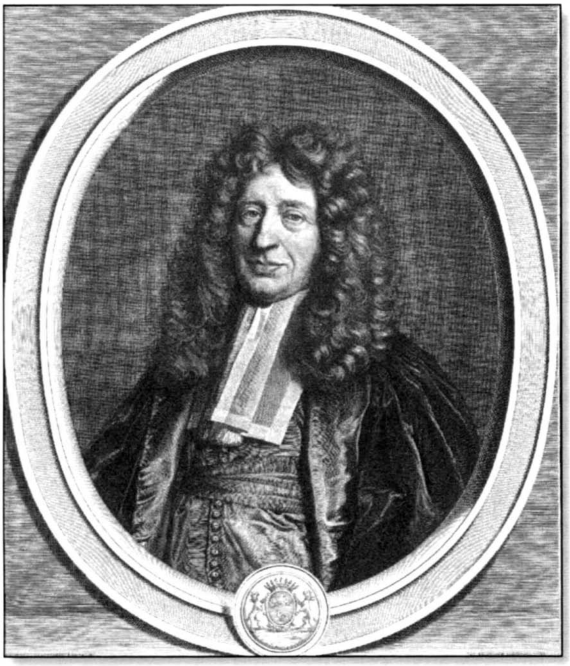
[2] Saint-Simon, *Mémoires* (Paris: Hachette, 1873), Vol. 5, p.457–159; E. de Clermont-Tonnerre, *Histoire de Samuel Bernard et de ses infants* (Paris: Champion, 1914), p.54.

[3] Pierre Goubert and Daniel Roche, *Les Français et l'Ancien Régime, la société et l'état* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1984), pp.181–182, 350–352.

Had Louis XIV been more economically reasonable, argued nineteenth-century historians such as Michelet in France and Macaulay in Britain and others elsewhere, he would not have had to melt down his silver dishes to procure specie and France would have been richer and happier. That Louis' silverware would make a difference to balance the books when enormous sums daily flowed in and out of the unfathomable treasury seems rather far-fetched. The silver-melting episodes were very likely the sort of useful propaganda rumour that bid well amongst the nation's ordinary people: the King was making his thrifty efforts in difficult times. That it balanced the books is fiscal insanity.

Then as now, government banking was not about saving money, but focused on redistributing the nation's wealth. Louis XIV understood this better than most officials and massively used all the funds he could get to build infrastructure, fortresses, some palaces and, most of all, to increase greatly the nation's military spending. Not only did this allow sizeable armies and navies to be maintained – a great economic asset in foreign policy – it created considerable interior demand and employment and, ultimately, sizeable private capital within the kingdom that could be tapped when in need of credit.

A well-known contemporary figure was Voltaire, who was 21 when the Sun King died in 1715. His vision of Louis' financial management was expressed when he later wrote that "in about 1691 and 1692, the finances of the government seemed seriously deranged. Those who attributed the weakening of resources to the profuse spending of Louis XIV in his buildings, in the arts and in the pleasures did not know that, on the contrary, spending enriches the nation." He went on, condemning excessive spending on wars because it created fiscal instability and exhausted treasuries so that new taxes had to be levied to meet the challenge. Thus, while credit had to be raised, he observed that nations that used fiscal restraint measures to diminish spending, control specie and rationalise finances actually had a negative effect on the interior economy because, in the case of France, it produced everything it needed. To raise credit, Paris was the financial centre and there were others. Lyon had a "Register, or Protocol, which some have called a Bank" for credit and transfer of debt. Debt service that had to be paid to lenders by the government could reach amazing peaks on rare occasions. Most of the time, the interest appears to have hovered in the eight to 15 percent range. There were, besides interest rates, a multitude of more or less



Gédéon Berbier du Mets, Comte de Rosnay, *c.* 1698. He was a senior official in government finances becoming in 1663 the first Intendant-Comptroller of the Garde-Meuble de la Couronne, in effect the auditor-general of government property and produced its first known inventory. He was also the "Guard" of the royal treasure being basically responsible for the treasury and eventually became president of the powerful Chambre des Comptes (accounts chamber) that audited all government finances. He was the key official to consult on revenue and credit, most of which was for the armed forces.
(Print after Hyacinthe Rigaud.Courtesy Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. RP-P-BI-7496)

hidden charges that French bankers collected thus ensuring a flow of capital.[4]

Reliance on credit was nearly all from capital existing within France. A nation that has its own interior source of capital is in a far better fiscal situation than one that needs to borrow from foreign countries. Another, perhaps less savoury aspect for French financiers was that, at times, the government might delay payment. There would be mutterings amongst bankers, but not too loud since the Sun King's centrally controlled government was also the prime purveyor of wealth and that no one quite forgot that he had put the knavish Fouquet in jail for financial wrongdoings. Some bankers might go bankrupt, like Everhard Jabach (of German origin), but on the whole they managed well France's peculiar fiscal situation so that the government could depend on them for even more credit.[5]

War Taxes and Frenchmen

Nevertheless, in 1695, a new tax called the "Capitation" was created to help pay for the war. Naturally and especially in France, any new tax was abhorred and this one was in no way fairer than all the others. Every home in the kingdom was subject to it, but it then divided the taxable into 22 classes. The first included royal princes and ministers who had to pay 2,000 livres each; bankers were in class 10 thus paying 120 livres and wholesale merchants filled class 11 at 100 livres. Such amounts were a small fraction, if even that, of their income. Class 22 called on unskilled labourers and private soldiers in the army to contribute one livre of their meagre revenues. It was a totally inequitable system that largely maintained the next-to-nothing tax revenues from the nobles and the church, this last skilfully avoiding much higher charges by paying a lump sum of 4,300,000 livres. In all, the tax brought in about 20 million paid mostly by the nation's poorest.

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[4] Voltaire, *Le Siècle de Louis* XIV, p.525; Piketty, *Le capital au XXIe siècle*, p.79. On the source of capital, if a nation borrows from foreign countries, it can have a very high interior production, but a weaker national revenue due to the debt payments and profit shares that must be paid to the foreign creditors. Inversely, if such payments remain in the country when capital is borrowed within its borders and if, in addition, it possesses part of the debt of other nations, its national revenue will be higher than its own interior production.

[5] Goubert and Roche, *Les Français et l'Ancien Régime, la société et l'état*, pp.181–182, 350–352; John A. Lynn, *Giant of the Grand Siècle. The French Army 1610–1715* (Cambridge: University Press, 2006), pp.20–26.

This example brings out the basic fiscal situation of the French people. There were really two fundamental groups of Frenchmen: the first included the royal family, the nobility, the clergy, the bourgeoisie, the legal and financial professions, in short everyone who earned a decent living, which included all military officers and many rankers such as NCOs as well as all civilians that had anything to do with funding the military establishment, producing the food and all else armies required; the second group was the bulk of the population, often illiterate and sometimes close to starving, that toiled in the fields or performed unskilled jobs in towns barely surviving day to day in menial work. And from 1688, some of them might also be forcibly drafted in the army. Thus, wealth was matched by great inequalities.[6]

War Credit Pressures on the Allies

Great Britain and the Netherlands on their side were increasingly footing the bill for the war against Louis XIV, not only for their own armed forces but also in the form of hefty subsidies for their allies. While political uncertainty reigned in England, war gradually broke out on the Continent during the second half of 1688 thus requiring additional public funds. This was compounded by William of Orange's preparations to invade England with the Dutch army and navy. In September, he obtained in record time a loan of three million guilders from the States General, but more was needed and minor amounts came from various sources. Then stepped in Antonio Lopes de Suasso, who was one of William's closest and most outstanding financial advisers as well as a friend. He loaned two million guilders to William, an enormous sum from an individual. It is said that when William told him that no guarantees could equal such a huge loan, Suasso replied that if the invasion succeeded, he would be repaid and if it failed, he would lose as would his friend. No doubt, Suasso also took the risk because his father was a Jewish refugee from Portugal who thrived as a genial banker in Amsterdam, ably followed by his son who would become a leading banker in Europe. Yet another example showing that bigotry can have long lasting consequences. As it was in this instance, the deal meant that the invasion could go ahead and it led to the "Glorious Revolution" – the rest is history.[7]

Once on the throne of Great Britain, William III was now in the midst an expensive war with France as well as revolts in Scotland and Ireland. Although Britain was a prosperous kingdom with already worldwide trading interests, the strain on its finances was reaching unbearable levels in the early 1690s. It must be recalled that the population of Britain was about a third of that of France so British revenue was smaller. Yet King William III needed quickly great amounts of money to match France's remarkable capacity to

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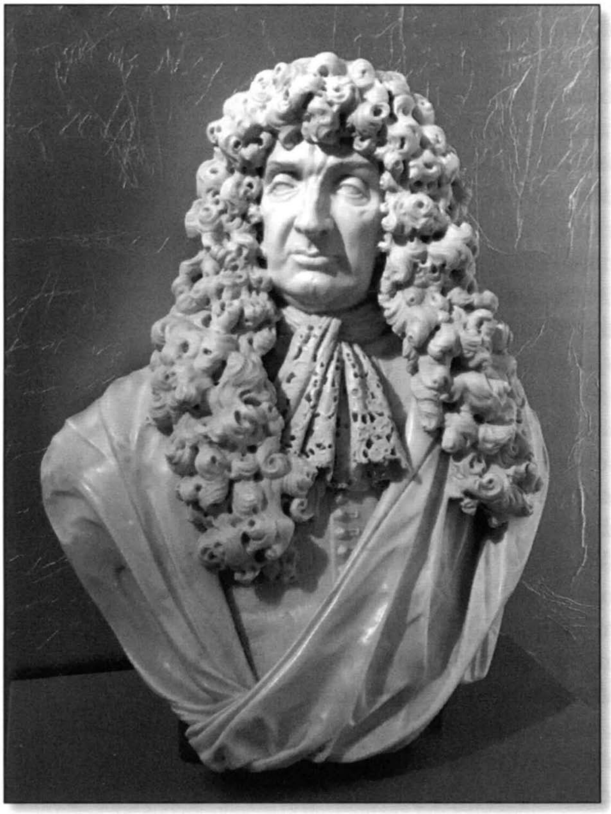
[6] George Montgrédien, *La vie quotidienne sous Louis XIV* (Paris: Hachette, 1948), p.225; Goubert and Roche, *Les Français et l'Ancien Régime, la société et l'état*, pp.354–356; Richer, *Vie des surintendants des finances*, Vol. 2, p.397.

[7] On Suasso, most sources are in Dutch, which we regrettably do not command, but we have found useful material in the Amsterdam Museum. Also the Wikipedia article <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Francisco_Lopes_Suasso> on him, which gives references to a few works in English.



Antonio Lopes Suasso, c. 1680. He was descended from a Sephardic Jewish family which had fled persecution in Portugal and found freedom and tolerance in the Netherlands. A discreet and brilliant man, he became one of Europe's most influential bankers as well as a close confident of William of Orange. He partly funded William's "Glorious Revolution" that made WIlliam king of Great Britain and, with his son Francisco, set up part of the necessary financing for the European coalition fighting Louis XIV's armies. (Bust attributed to Rombout Verhulst. Amsterdam Museum. Author's photo)

fund large armies. Such outlays had not been seen in England since about 40 years earlier when some £2,000,000 had been spent by Oliver Cromwell on the army and navy. Now King William needed and obtained from Parliament £5,000,000 a year, but that still was not enough and £1,200,000 more was needed to upgrade the Royal Navy. No one in London wanted to lend such sums to William's government, fearing it could default. Yet London was already a leading financial centre "although it have not a proportionate quantity of Money to some, yet hath almost double the Circulation of any [city] in Europe" according to a 1695 pamphlet.

England had no bank acting as an independent institution with its credit backed by the government, nor did any other major power. At the suggestion of a Scot, William Patterson, the Bank of England was created in 1694 to manage high finance and debts. It now raised and advanced credit to the government from private capital with a guaranteed return of, for instance, eight percent interest on £1,200,000 loaned by moneyed individuals to the Crown who managed the bank's government loans as an independent and private entity. In this way, fiscal confidence necessary for any investment was boosted. It also had the political effect of the wealthy rallying to support King William's rule and war effort because they would never be repaid if King James II returned. Other advantages such as stricter regulations regarding coinage also helped England's fiscal outlook. Subsidies to allies continued somewhat haphazardly, especially during the coinage crisis of 1696, but might also take the form of long-term loans. In effect, to match Louis XIV's tremendous financial pressure on Europe through his military spending, England now joined the Netherlands to become leading bankers of the allied war effort.[8]

There were also fiscal problems in the Holy Roman Empire under the nominal leadership of Emperor Leopold I in Vienna, Austria, which also included Bohemia and several other areas. The calls for assistance by the principalities on the German western borders of the Empire to counter aggression by France became more acute. Austria, which had had a remarkable economic expansion since the middle of the seventeenth century, now saw its military budget skyrocket upwards. From 12 million florins in 1690, it nearly doubled to 23 million in 1695, which was seven times what it had been in 1680! It was nearly unbearable for a country of about six million people. To cope, the government tried to limit spending from 1690 under the stewardship of Cardinal Kollonich who thought that the increases were because financial officers were crooks and a rigorous administrative regime would fix things. He even lowered army pay and rations, which only increased looting by soldiers quartered with inhabitants. Higher taxes were not producing the anticipated revenues and causing unrest. In fact, Austria was having the same fiscal problems as in other countries in the last decades of the century, largely due to unfathomable and numerous budget posts, lack of revenue and credit, shortfall of specie, et cetera. Excessive government restraint measures produced, then as now, a slowdown of the economy. To cope, the exceptional "Turkish Tax" imposed in 1683 was kept and even doubled in 1694. A capitation tax was also enacted in 1691 whose revenue was mainly to keep 21 regiments of cavalry posted on the eastern frontier facing the Turks for only 11 regiments westward. All these taxation efforts were of course mainly paid by the common people and much less by the privileged. Fortunately for the peasants, there was a substantial rise in the price of cereals that offset some of the taxes.

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[8] *Some Observations upon the Bank of England* (London: J. Whitlock, 1695), pp.11, *Historical Sketch of the Bank of England* (London: Longman, 1831), p.12; George M. Wrong, *History of England* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1928), pp.362–363.

Nevertheless, the Austrian emperor was now too insolvent to support alone the expenses of the war. His Dutch allies did help to about 10 percent of the Austrian budget, but his British and Spanish allies declined during the Nine Years' War. Finally, it was the extraordinarily skilful Jewish businessman Samuel Oppenheimer who found the fiscal keys that shored up the Imperial credit to finance the war. In 1695 he held 47 percent of the debt, but he was never alone as he had attracted many others to lend to the Crown, not only in Austria but also from bankers in Amsterdam and Milan. Cardinal Kollonich detested Oppenheimer yet had to deal with him because he was the only one who mastered the intricacies of the Imperial credit structure. The Austrian economy got better and, perhaps to the chagrin of the Sun King, the Imperial army was increasingly fighting his troops in western Europe.[9]

Allied War Credit Default = France's Gain

We can also glance on the consequences of erratic finances that went on in the Italian realm of Piémont led by Vittorio Amadeo II, Duke of Savoy. In 1689, Piémont had joined the Grand Alliance against France, but it needed large subsidies from its allies to keep up to 17,000 troops on duty. Promises of money had been made, but only Spain seriously provided funds, the Dutch being somewhat unreliable and the British subsidies always many months late even though money was also needed to pay for Huguenot regiments sponsored by Britain. As years passed with tardy subsidies being sent to Piémont, a disappointed Vittorio Amadeo moved secretly closer to Louis XIV and, in 1696, a truce was agreed and sealed by the marriage of Marie Adelaide, Vittorio Amadeo's daughter, to the Duc de Bourgogne, the Sun King's grandson. In September, the allies learned of the truce and rejected it. So Piémont's army now efficiently subsidised by France joined Marshal Catinat's army to fight the allies except for the Huguenot regiments which were sent back to Britain. Proof yet again that tardy payments can turn friends into enemies.[10]

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[9] Lucien Bély, Jean Bérenger and André Corvisier, *Guerre et paix dans l'Europe du XVIIe siècle* (Paris: SEDES, 1991), pp.253–268; Erwin A. Schmidl, *Jews in the Habsburg Armed Forces* (Eisenstadt: Osterreichisches Judisches Museum, 1989), pp.96–97. Ironically, Oppenheimer was bankrupt when he died in 1703, yet the Austrian government still owed him eight million florins.

What can be seen in all these fiscal matters is that the centuries old tales about the Sun King plunging France into economic woe from the 1690s because of outlandish spending on Versailles, on limitless luxury, on the departure of Huguenots and on his huge armies do not explain that French finances were, on the whole, obviously quite capable of massive outlays in all military aspects. It was France who, by its outstanding capacity to stretch credit and fund great armies, could and did surpass the allies' combined war chest.

By turning such old tales around and looking at the allied nations, it is remarkably strange to contemplate such self-proclaimed thrifty countries as the Netherlands, England or Austria, that did not build palaces like Versailles, also finding themselves into substantial financial problems. England being perhaps the most affected in that it might not wholly respect its subsidy agreements to finance the war. Through it all, there is no doubt that France and its opponents had a serious economic recession during the 1690s whose cause is certainly murky; such events have no national borders nor logic. Both France and the allies found financial solutions, largely through a better management of credit and its risks, to promote wartime economies, thus funding armies to hitherto unseen levels.

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[10] Ciro Paoletti, *William III's Italian Ally. Piedmont and the War of the League of Augsburg 1683–1697* (Warwick, UK: Helion & Company, 2019), pp.156–158, 181, 193, 198 200.

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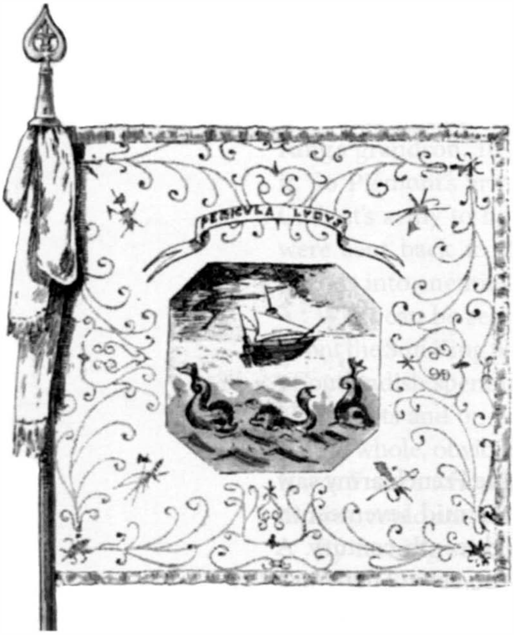
The Cavalry

During the reign of Louis XIV, the mounted services of the French army saw many changes evolving from a fairly modest force in the mid seventeenth century to being by far Europe's largest by the early eighteenth century. A number of tactical features were introduced during the reign, the most important being the addition of what was later called "medium" cavalry in the form of many dragoon regiments during the 1670s and, from 1692, the advent of hussars heralding the formation of true light cavalry in the army. While hussars were a feature borrowed from contact with Austrian light cavalry, most other innovations introduced in the French cavalry were eagerly copied into the armies of France's opponents. Another innovation was creating and eventually grouping the best elite troopers as carabiniers, which was also copied elsewhere. The diverse and large numbers of cavalrymen in the French armies featured several types of organisations. The large contingent of heavy cavalry was not restricted to the numerous line regiments, but would also include the royal guard cavalry, the personal bodyguards of princes and generals as seen in Volume 1, and the Gendarmerie de France (below). The bulk of the mounted arms are presented in this volume and, as will be seen in Volume 4, there were even more troopers in other military organisations.

Gendarmerie de France: Between the Guards and the Line Cavalry

Today, the Gendarmerie in France is the name given to the national police force. But, before the French Revolution, it was an elite reserve cavalry brigade attached to the royal guard that ranked amongst the best mounted troops in the kingdom. Its status was somewhere between the king's royal guard cavalry units and the line cavalry.

Apart from its first company, which was created in the fifteenth century, all companies were raised during the reign of the Sun King. From 1647 to 1673, 11 more companies were raised so that these 12 companies formed something like a large regiment or a small brigade. Following Marshal Luxembourg's report of the outstanding conduct of the Gendarmerie de



Standard of the Chevau-légers Dauphin, *c.* 1668. It featured a central panel featuring three dolphins in a stormy sea, with a ship rendered in natural colours on white silk embroidered and fringed with gold and silver. White cravat with gold fringes. (Print from the history of the 12th Cuirassiers. Author's photo)

France both on the eve and on the day of the battle of Fleurus (30 June and 1 July 1690), stressing that it had played an important role in its victorious outcome, the Sun King realised that he had not given enough attention to this corps and resolved to correct the situation. From late August 1690, the King reorganised and expanded the Gendarmerie de France by raising four more companies as well as raising the establishment of all companies. By late 1690 it comprised 10 Gendarmes and six Chevau-légers companies for a total of 16 companies.[1]

The Gendarmes Écossais, Gendarmes Anglais, Gendarmes Bourguignons and Gendarmes Flamans were termed the *Grande Gendarmerie*. The King was the senior commander of these first four companies. They were followed by the companies of the Queen, the Dauphin and of the princes which were termed the *Petite Gendarmerie*. The companies are listed below with some added notes. The description of their standards in these notices are mainly taken from Daniel's and Guignard's histories, which seems to be the closest to a contemporary description presently known. The order of precedence of the more recently raised companies for royal grandsons could vary according to period lists and more recent sources:[2]

Gendarmes Écossais. 1422. This Scottish company was one of the oldest units in the French army that existed for 366 years. It was the property of the Stuart family who recruited it in Scotland and its captain-lieutenants included Prince Charles Stuart (1620–1625, later King Charles I of Great Britain) and James Stuart, Duke of York (1648–1665, later James II) who gave it to Louis XIV in 1665. It henceforth had French troopers, but retained its Scottish name and heritage. Standard, white: a large dog running, into a plain where there are some trees, with the words: *In omni modo fidelis* (faithful in every way).

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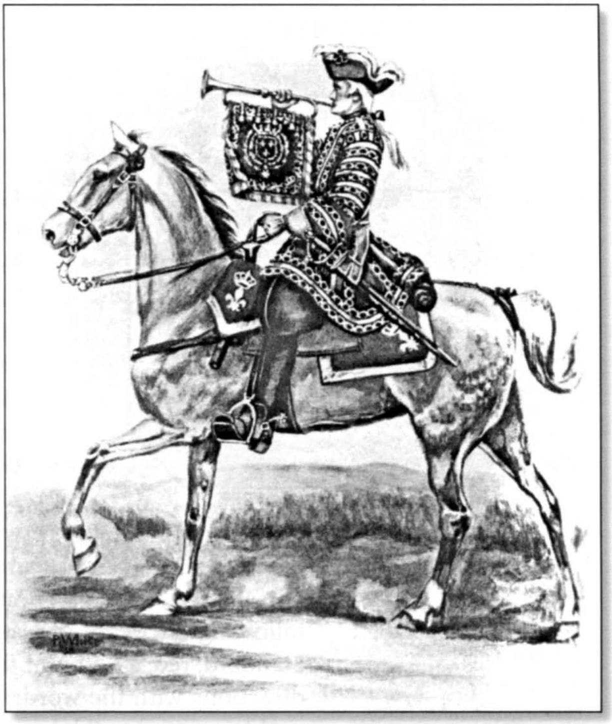
[1] Daniel, *Histoire de la milice françoise*, Vol. 2, pp.216–236, 255; M. de Guignard, *L'École de Mars* (Paris, 1725), Vol. 2, pp.572–575.

[2] As per Susane, *Histoire de la Cavalerie*, Vol. 1, pp.247–271. We have listed them according to Pierre Charrié, *Drapeaux et étendards du roi* (Paris: Léopard d'Or, 1989), p.156. Precedence of the companies at the time did not follow the dates of creation. The 1692 and 1702 lists (BMG, A1b 1626) have 14 companies in the following order: Gendarmes Écossais, Gendarmes Anglois, Gendarmes Bourguignons, Gendarmes Flamans, Gendarmes de la Reine, Chevau-Légers de la Reine, Gendarmes du Monseigneur le Dauphin, Chevau-Légers de Monseigneur le Dauphin, Gendarmes d'Anjou, Chevau-Légers d'Anjou, Gendarmes d'Orléans, Chevau-Légers d'Orléans, Gendarmes de Berry and Chevaux-Légers de Berry. The Gendarmes and the Chevaux-Légers de Bourgogne raised in October 1690 were not listed. The 1694 *État de la France* has: 1) Gendarmes Écossais, 2) Gendarmes Anglais, 3) Gendarmes Bourguignons, 4) Gendarmes Flamans, 5) Gendarmes de la Reine, 6) Chevau-Légers de la Reine, 7) Gendarmes du Monseigneur le Dauphin, 8) les Chevau-Légers de Monseigneur le Dauphin, 9) les Gendarmes de Bourgogne, 10) Chevau-Légers de Bourgogne, 11) Gendarmes d'Anjou, 12) Chevau-Légers d'Anjou, 13) Gendarmes de Berry, 14) Chevau-Légers de Berry, 15) Gendarmes d'Orléans, 16) Chevau-Légers d'Orléans. With thanks to Giancarlo Boeri. Standards in Daniel, *Histoire de la milice françoise*, Vol. 2, pp.258–259; Guignard, *L'École de Mars*, Vol. 2, pp.572–573.

Gendarmes Anglais. 27 November 1667. The British Parliament having legislated to dismiss Catholic officers and men from King James II's guard, George Hamilton, Earl of Abercorn brought some to France in 1667, which the Sun King organised into this Gendarmerie company of 200 of English and Irishmen, the Scots being integrated into the Gendarmes Écossais. They were the forerunners of the tens of thousands of military Catholic refugees that came to France from Britain and especially Ireland just over two decades later. Standard, white: a sun and eight eaglets rising from the ground to fly towards it, with the words: *Tuus ad te nos vocat ardor* (Ardour makes us fly towards you).



Trumpeter of the Gendarmes Écossais, early eighteenth century. He wears the blue coat lined scarlet of the King's livery, richly decorated with the royal livery and silver laces, silver buttons, hat edged with silver lace and white plumes, blue trumpet banner bearing the royal arms with silver and gold embroidery and fringes. Red housings with white border and crowned lily. (Print after Percy White *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, 1938. Author's photo)

Gendarmes Bourguignons. 1 April 1668. It was initially titled Chevau-légers Bourguignons, which the King changed to Gendarmes in August 1674. Standard, white: five [red] crosses of Burgundy, that is to say, five saltires, four little ones in the corners and a large one in the middle without inscription.

Gendarmes Flamans (or de Flandres). 12 April 1673. Its first captain-lieutenant was Ferdinand, Comte de Marchin, a Belgian officer who became better known from 1703 as Marshal of France Marchin. Standard, blue: the motto of the late King [Louis XIV], that is, a sun in its splendour with the words: *Nec pluribus impar.*

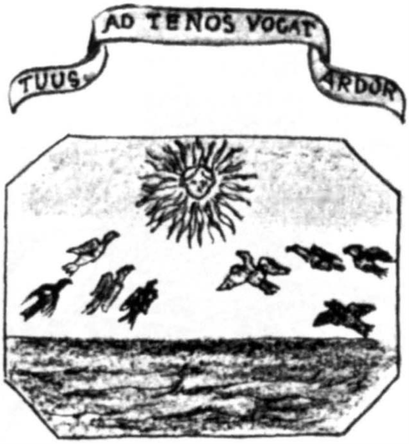
Gendarmes de la Reine. 13 May 1661. Raised in honour of Louis XIV's bride, Queen Marie-Thérèse of Austria. It initially had 200 troopers. Standard, red: sprinkled with gold lilies laced and fringed with gold; badge: two ovals with the coats of arms of France and the queen with motto: *Seu pagem su bella gero* (I make peace or wage war).

Gendarmes du Dauphin. 13 December 1665. It initially had 300 troopers. Standard, white: an agitated sea on which there is a ship in the middle of a tempest. Three dolphins appear to be playing, the words of the motto: *Pericula ludus* (They play with danger).

Gendarmes d'Anjou. 19 December 1669. Standard, blue: two trees in a plain, on the larger of the two is a shining star which is throwing long rays of light and the words: *Virtute auctorem refert* (Its brilliance marks the author).

Gendarmes de Berry. 1 October 1690. Created for the King's third grandson, the Duc de Berry. Standard, blue: emblem on their standard a powerful lion in a stopped position showing its full face and the words: *Vestigia magna sequetur* (He follows their great tracks).

Gendarmes de Bourgogne. 30 August 1690. Created for the King's grandson, the Duc de Bourgogne until his death on 8 June 1711 and known as the Gendarmes de Bretagne thereafter. Standards, blue: a large tree and a little one at the side with the words: *Triumphalis e stipite surgit* (It rises from a triumphant stem).



Motto and badge on the standard of the Gendarmes Anglais, early eighteenth century. (Print after Percy White, ***Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research***, 1938. Author's photo)

Gendarmes d'Orléans. 1647. This company was raised for Louis XIV's younger brother, Monsieur, who was the Duc d'Anjou, and so the unit was originally known as the Gendarmes d'Anjou until 1660. It then became Gendarmes d'Orléans following the death of Gaston d'Orléans, the late King Louis XIII's brother. Standard, red: a bomb in the air which is bursting and projecting fire in four directions with the words: *Alter post fulmina terror* (After the flash there is nothing more terrible).

Chevau-légers de la Reine. 13 June 1661. Standard as those of the Gendarmes de la Reine.

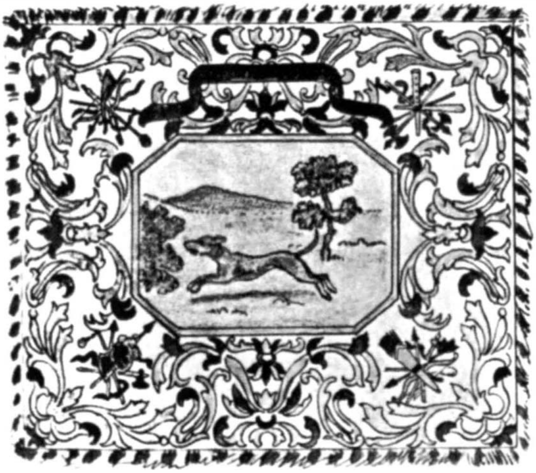
Chevau-légers du Dauphin. 20 January 1663. Created on 28 January in honour of the infant Dauphin. The first captain-lieutenant (from 1663 to 1670) was the Marquis de La Vallière, brother of Louise de La Vallière who became one of the Sun King's most renowned mistresses. Standard, white: same as the Gendarmes du Dauphin.

Chevau-légers de Berry. 1 October 1690. Created on 1 October for the King's third grandson, the Duc de Berry. Standard, blue: an eagle alone with is flying in the air and the words: *Quo non feret insita virtus* (Where its innate bravery will not take it).

Chevau-légers d'Orléans. 14 June 1655. The company was also raised for Louis XIV's younger brother, Monsieur, who was the Duc d'Anjou, known as the Chevau-légers d'Anjou until 1660 and Chevau-légers d'Orléans thereafter. Standard same as the Gendarmes d'Orléans.

Chevau-légers d'Anjou. 1 October 1690. Standard, blue: same as the Gendarmes d'Anjou.

Chevau-légers de Bourgogne. 30 August 1690. Also created for the King's grandson, the Duc de Bourgogne and known as the Chevau-légers de Bretagne from June 1711. Standards, blue: a bird flying in the air and another



Standard of the Gendarmes Écossais, early eighteenth century. White field embroidered in gold and silver, central badge in natural colours. (Print after Percy White, ***Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research***, 1938. Author's photo)

on the ground with extended wings, making an effort to fly, with the motto: *Votis sectatur euntem* (It follows the trail with its voice).

To have a noble family tree was a condition for all officers and it was most helpful for NCOs and troopers as well. As Susane put it, it was a "refuge of that part of the very numerous nobility that did not have enough [financial] means to buy or upkeep a regiment". Even as a private trooper, belonging to the Gendarmerie was a way to "recompense" this part of the noble gentlemen with a military career that offered a still prestigious standing. Heeding to ancient tradition, the King's Gendarmerie companies answered to no one but the King and their officers were chosen by him. The Gendarmerie was thus indeed in a class of its own between the guards and the line.

From 1690, the Gendarmerie de France really became a cavalry division. It henceforth had a HQ staff and the companies were grouped into eight squadrons. The permanent composition of the squadrons was:[3]

1st) Gendarmes Écossais and Gendarmes de Bourgogne

2nd) Gendarmes Anglais and Chevau-légers de Bourgogne

3rd) Gendarmes Bourguignons and Gendarmes d'Anjou

4th) Gendarmes Flamans and Chevau-légers d'Anjou

5th) Gendarmes de la Reine and Gendarmes de Berry

6th) Chevau-légers de la Reine and Chevau-légers de Berry

7th) Gendarmes du Dauphin and Gendarmes d'Orléans

8th) Chevau-légers du Dauphin and Chevau-légers d'Orléans

The eight squadrons had two companies each, one being the senior *compagnie chef*. The four King's companies were always senior to the prince's companies. All *compagnies chefs* had two standards, a kettledrummer and four trumpeters, the second companies having only one standard, two trumpeters and no kettledrummer. The number of officers and men per company was high in the 1660s and 1670s, each company having 280 troopers, but after 1678, this came down 50 troopers per company including

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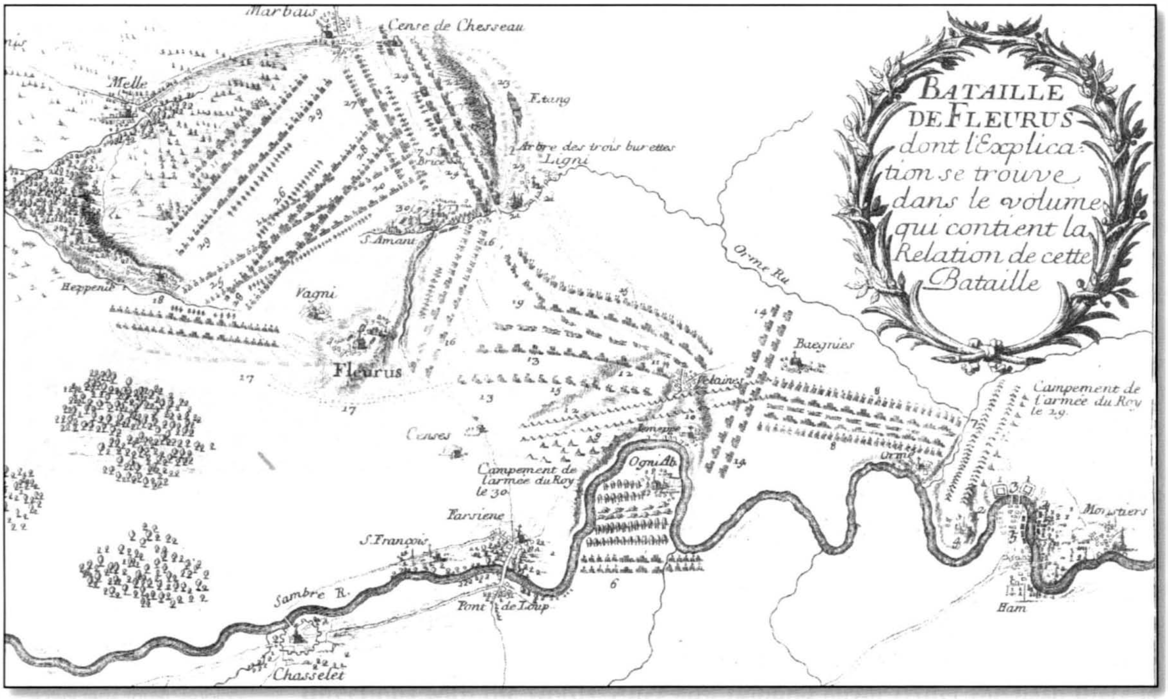
[3] HQ staff was usually at Châlons-sur-Marne and the eight squadrons, were at Saint-Dizier, Sainte-Ménéhoud, Bar-sur-Aube, Sézanne, Rethel, Vitry, Joinville and Chaumond.


BATAILLE DE FLEURUS dont l'Explication se trouve dans le volume qui contient la Relation de cette Bataille
Marbais
Cense de Chesseau
Melle
Etang
Arbre des trois burettes
Ligni
Brie
S. Amant
Heppenies
Vagni
Fleurus
Censes
Orme Ru
Baegnies
Velaines
Campement de l'armée du Roy le 29.
Campement de l'armée du Roy le 30
Ognies Ab
Farsiene
S. Francois
Sambre R.
Pont de Loup
Chasselet
Moustiers
Ham
Orme

The battle of Fleurus, 1690. (Print after François de La Pointe, 1690 Courtesy Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. RP-P-1905-278)

the kettledrummer and trumpeter. Following the 1690 organisation and expansion, the staff had a major, two *aide-major* and two *sous-aide-major* that were officers attached to the Gendarmes Écossais. The major was to report directly to the King on the state of the corps. Although not counted in the establishment, there would have been at least one chaplain and a surgeon. A company had a captain-lieutenant (the King, Queen or princes always being the captains in title), a captain-sub-lieutenant, an ensign for a gendarme company or a guidon in a chevau-légers company, four maréchal-des-logis, two brigadiers, two sub-brigadiers, one or no kettledrummer, two or four trumpeters and a variable number of gendarmes or chevau-légers troopers. In peacetime, there would be eight officers and some 85 NCOs, musicians and troopers in eight companies and 84 NCOs, musicians and troopers in the other eight companies for a total of 1,480 officers and men (plus the staff). This could rise to 160 for a total of 2,688 all ranks in wartime. The wartime establishment was filled by young noble gentlemen volunteers.[4]

By an order of 12 November 1665, each Gendarmerie de France trooper was allowed to have three horses and received forage and rations for himself and one or more servants. Each horse would receive 20 pounds of hay and four *mesures* of oats. A fourrier had one and a half portions of the trooper's allowance. A *maréchal des logis* had twice the trooper's amount, a guidon and an ensign had three times, a lieutenant four and a captain-lieutenant six. The number of horse naturally increased with the rank of the gendarme.

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[4] Daniel, *Histoire de la milice françoise*, Vol. 2, pp.235–236, 255; Guignard, *L'École de Mars*, Vol. 2, p.566; Victor Belhomme, *L'Armée française en 1690* (Paris: Baudoin, 1895); Susane, *Histoire de la Cavalerie*, Vol. 1, pp.239–241.

During the eighteenth century, horsemanship and dressage attained a very high level of equestrian perfection that made the Gendarmerie de France "the best instructed corps of cavalry in Europe" according to the Baron of Bohan. It had its own *école* or riding school and some of its officers were said to be the best horseman in the cavalry. This appears to have had its roots in the later part of the Sun King's reign.[5]

When on campaign, the Gendarmerie was to the left of the royal guard cavalry and camped next to it. As a result, a Gendarmerie officer was always detached as orderly to the commander of the army or to the Colonel Général of cavalry. The general commanding the guard cavalry also commanded the Gendarmerie de France although both corps were always separate in movements in that they were not merged together. When it did not campaign with the guard, it always had the right of the line and came under the orders of its own senior brigadier general chosen within its ranks. From 1667, the Gendarmerie always had precedence over the line cavalry and always marched and paraded in front of it.

Main Battles, Sieges and Campaigns

The Gendarmerie de France took part in a myriad of small engagements as well as major battles during the reign of the Sun King, always with distinction according to chroniclers and also from glancing at their casualty lists. They were deployed in Holland and Flanders during the 1672–1678 Dutch War when for instance, the first commander of the Gendarmes Anglais, Captain-Lieutenant George Hamilton Comte d'Abercorn was killed near Saverne in 1675. Nine other company commanders of the Gendarmerie de France were killed in battle during the Sun King's reign which is a statement in itself as to the fighting record of this outstanding cavalry division. From 1688 they were present in Flanders, and, as seen above, its distinguished actions at the eve and on the day of the battle of Fleurus (30 June and 1 July 1690) had a very positive effect on its victorious outcome for the French army. The Gendarmerie was also present on the Rhine, in Germany and Italy notably at the battles of Leuze and Marsaglia. It was sent again to Italy in 1701 and 1702, fought at the battle of Lazzura, then in Germany from 1703 at Spire, was very badly mauled fighting furiously at Blenheim the following year and later at Oudenarde and Malplaquet.[6]

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[5] Sieur du Birac, *Les fonctions du capitaine de cavalerie* (Paris, 1669). We have used the La Haye edition of 1693, pp.79–80; Bohan quoted in Henri Choppin, *La cavalerie française* (Paris: Garnier, 1893), p.189.

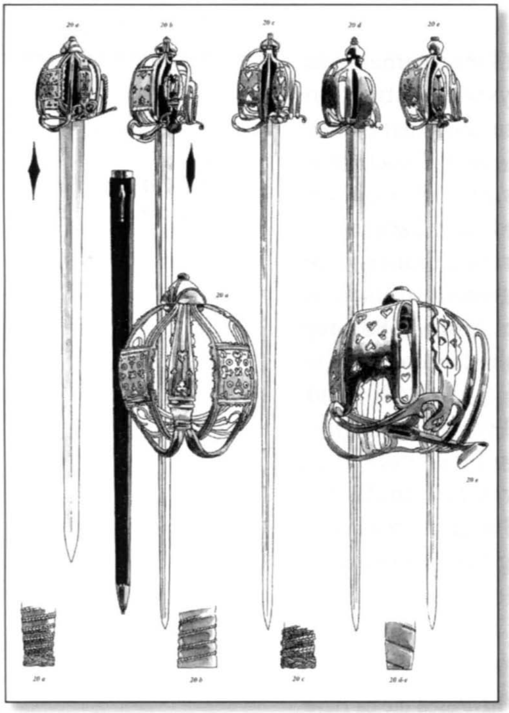
[6] The commanders killed in battle were Gendarmes d'Orléans Captain-lieutenant the Comte de Beauvau, killed at Cassel on 11 April 1677, and Captain-lieutenant the Baron de Salhart, killed at Fleurus on 1 July 1690; Gendarmes du Dauphin Captain-lieutenant the Chevalier de Soyecourt killed at Fleurus on 1 July 1690; Chevau-légers du Dauphin Captain-lieutenant the Comte de Mornay-Villarceau was killed at Fleurus on 1 July 1690 and Captain-lieutenant the Marquis de Toiras was killed at Leuze in 1691; Gendarmes de Berry Captain-lieutenant the Marquis de Bruslard at Spire in 1703; Gendarmes de Bourgogne Captain-lieutenant the Marquis de Gassion was killed at Blenheim in 1704; Gendarmes de Berry Captain-lieutenant the Marquis de Roquelaure at

Uniforms, Weapons, Standards

The early dress of the Gendarmerie de France is, thus far, largely unknown. Later on, the uniform was consistently red and we feel that this may have been worn by the 1670s at the same time as the royal guard cavalry serving outside the Louvre adopted red coats. Its nickname of "la maison rouge" (the red household) may date from that time. The 1692 and 1702 lists specified an all-red coat with red cuffs for the Gendarmerie de France.[7]

At the 1698 huge review at Compiègne, the German observer Corfey noted the Gendarmerie's uniform as a "red coat, red cuffs, silver buttons, white hat band, silver hat lace" for all. This was corroborated by the September 1698 *Mercure Galant* reporting that after the Maison du Roi, the Gendarmerie was the finest looking corps on parade being "dressed in fine red cloth with silver buttons and silver buttonhole [lace] and a silver lace on the cuffs" and that its horses were equal to those of the Maison du Roi; their "saddlecloths and pistol holster covers" had ornaments that distinguished each of the companies. The officers had broad silver lace *brandebourgs* and "the remainder of the equipage is no less rich." The maréchaux des logis NCOs were also very properly uniformed and equipped. On the whole, this account shows how elaborate and fine the Gendarmerie's impressive appearance could be. We add that officers of the Gendarmerie de France were ordered to wear cuirasses by a royal order of 5 March 1675.

As seen below, details of the Gendarmerie de France's dress could be less ostentatious than in 1698 depending on royal wishes and this was obviously the case in the early 1700s. In August 1713, in a dispatch from the Comte Dauger to the minister of war, it was revealed that unscrupulous clothiers had fraudulently supplied uniforms that were too tight and made of questionable cloth. A pattern uniform would be provided "during the winter" for comments and the final approval of the King. It was asked that a silver lace be added to the edge each pocket similar "to the one on each cuff" of the coat and that the buff leather waistcoats be replaced by scarlet cloth waistcoats. According to Guignard, this was not approved for he later wrote that:



Scottish Claymore-type swords, Gendarmes Écossais. These examples are datable to the first half of the eighteenth century, but the Gendarmes Écossais probably always had typically Scottish swords. They had a steel guard with a very protective basket hilt finely worked. Swords 20a and 20c had white metal grips white the others had them in brass. The 1st Scottish Company of the Gardes du Corps also had Scottish Claymore type swords like these. (Reproduced by the kind permission of the artist, Michel Pétard, from his book ***Des Sabres et des Épées***. Author's photo)

Oudenarde in 1706; Gendarmes de la Reine Captain-lieutenant the Marquis de Tournemine was killed at Malplaquet in 1709. As per Susane, *Histoire de la Cavalerie*, Vol. 1, pp.247–271.

[7] BMG, Manuscrit A1b 1626 nicknamed "Tiroirs de Louis XIV" for 1692 and 1702. Robert Hall, Giancarlo Boeri and Yves Roumegoux, *Standards and Uniforms of French Cavalry under Louis XIV 1688–1714* (Farnham, UK: The Pike and Shot Society, 2005), p.18 mentions that, according to Saint-Simon memoirs, the Gendarmes du Dauphin wore "Turkish" (dark) blue with its saddlecloths having dolphins embroidered in silver in the mid 1660s and the Chevau-légers du Dauphin wearing a uniform whose hue was slightly paler than the gendarmes. Regrettably, we have not found it in the Hachette edition of Saint-Simon's memoirs.

> the coat of the Gendarmes and the Chevau-légers is of red cloth including the coat's cuffs. The coat is more or less laced with silver according to the king's wishes. Presently, it is only laced at the edge of the cuffs. The waistcoat is of buff half-leather. The bandolier is the same [of buff leather] and edged with a silver lace. The hat is also edged with a silver lace. The housings and pistol holster covers are red with the coat of arms of the captain embroidered at the corner of the housings and holster covers, except in the company of Gendarmes Bourguignons that have Burgundy crosses. The officer's uniform is the same, maréchaux des logis included, and fully laced with silver. The weapons of the Gendarmes and the Chevau-légers consists of a rifled carbine, a pair of pistols and a sabre with a silvered hilt.

The style of the sabres was generally as in other line cavalry units with a strong straight blade and a single branch (please see the cavalry swords in Chapter 13). However, the senior company, the Gendarmes Écossais, was armed with a Scottish "Claymore" type of basket-hilted straight-bladed sabre. These were also carried by the Scot's company of the Gardes du Corps and came in various styles as shown in the fine illustration by Michel Pétard. The kettledrummers and trumpeters wore the livery of their titular company captains and the kettledrum and trumpet banners bore their coat of arms embroidered in gold or silver.[8]

The standards were about 50 cm (19.6 in) square with the field in the company's distinctive colours and central badges for each company as described above. Both sides were identical. The fringes and embroidery were gold and silver.

Carabiniers

The origins of this corps are rather confusing since there were carabiniers (sometimes also termed "carabineers" in Britain) in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in the French armies. They were originally small groups of 20 to 25 troopers armed with firearms, unlike the bulk of line cavalry troopers that were armed with swords; they were also called *carabins*. Bellon's 1641 *Principes de l'art militaire* mentioned these troopers wore a cuirass and a helmet and were armed with a "big wheel-lock arquebus of three feet or more having a large calibre, a sword at the side and a short pistol". They might wear cassocks, wore shoes instead or boots and "could fight on foot and mounted and be mixed with cavalry." In the reign of Louis XIII many were assembled into regiments of which there were a dozen in 1643, but that gradually vanished thereafter. The last one was Carabins du Roi that had 14 companies in 1667, but disbanded the following year.[9]

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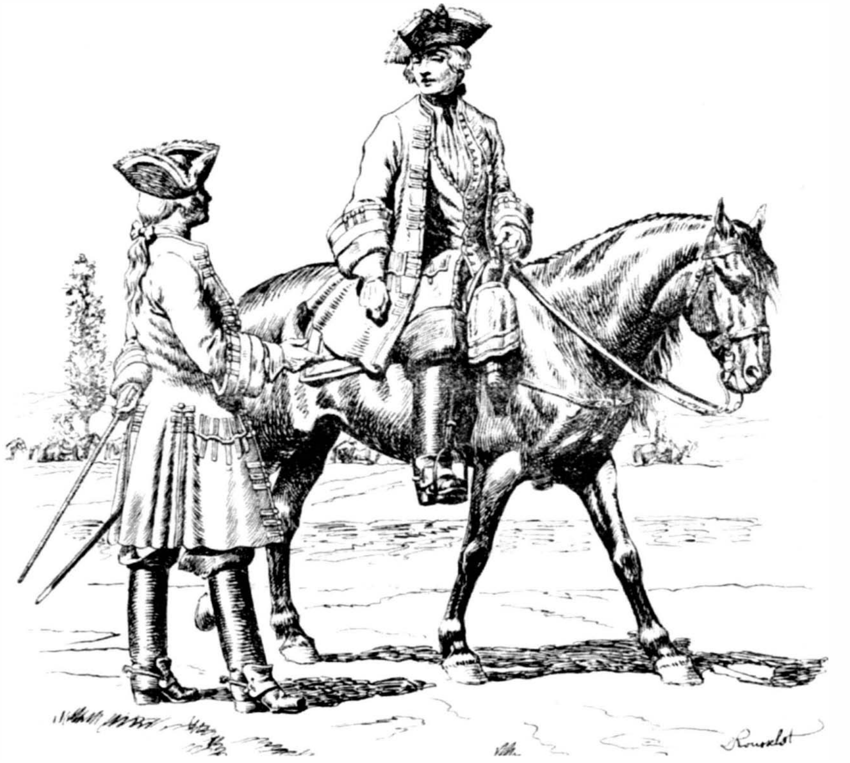
[8] AG, A1, Vol. 2456, Dauger to Minister, 23 August 1713; Guignard, *L'École de Mars*, Vol. 2, pp.568, 573. In the eighteenth century, each company had bandoliers of a distinct colour edged with silver lace, but we have not as yet encountered compelling data that this was the case in the Sun King's reign. These bandoliers are mentioned in Lemau de Jaisse's *Carte* ... of 1730 and its later *Abrégés*.

[9] Joachim Ambert, *Esquisses historiques, psychologiques et critiques de l'armée française* (Saumur: Degouy, 1837), pp.261–262 quoting Bellon. The precise identity of the carabin regiments is



Officers of the Régiment Royal des Carabiniers, early eighteenth century. Their uniform was blue with scarlet cuffs and lining, waistcoat and breeches, silver buttons and lace, wide silver lace and white plume edging the hat brim. Blue housings edged silver. (Print after L. Rousselot, ***Le Passepoil***, 1930. Author's photo)

Louis XIV's carabiniers were troopers armed with rifled flintlock carbines (*carabines* in French) that were a novelty in the mid seventeenth century. In the 1670s and 1680s, Manesson-Mallet mentioned that carabiniers had "rifled carbines that shoot at 300 paces that are loaded with an iron ramrod." In 1676, four troopers per Gardes du Corps brigade so armed were created; they were found quite useful and augmented to 15 per brigade in 1677 and to 17 troopers soon thereafter. Happy with this experiment, the Sun King decreed on 26 December 1679 that the carabiniers in his Gardes du Corps having been found "very useful in previous wars", there would be two carabiniers in each company of his line cavalry regiments chosen from the best shots in the unit. They ranked as elite soldiers like infantry grenadiers and received a higher pay of 13 livres per month. They proved to be very brave at the battle of Fleurus in 1690 when assembled as a corps by Marshal Luxembourg. On 25 October of that year, the King ordered the creation of a full company of carabiniers in each regiment consisting of a captain, two lieutenants, a cornet, a *maréchal des logis* senior NCO and 30 troopers. This was in addition to the two carabiniers already in each of the other companies. As the elite company, it marched at the head of the regiment. During the 1692–1693 campaigns, many carabinier companies were grouped into a brigade led by a brigadier general and two colonels to act more as an independent corps. However, cohesion was not fully achieved with troopers coming from different regiments and wearing different

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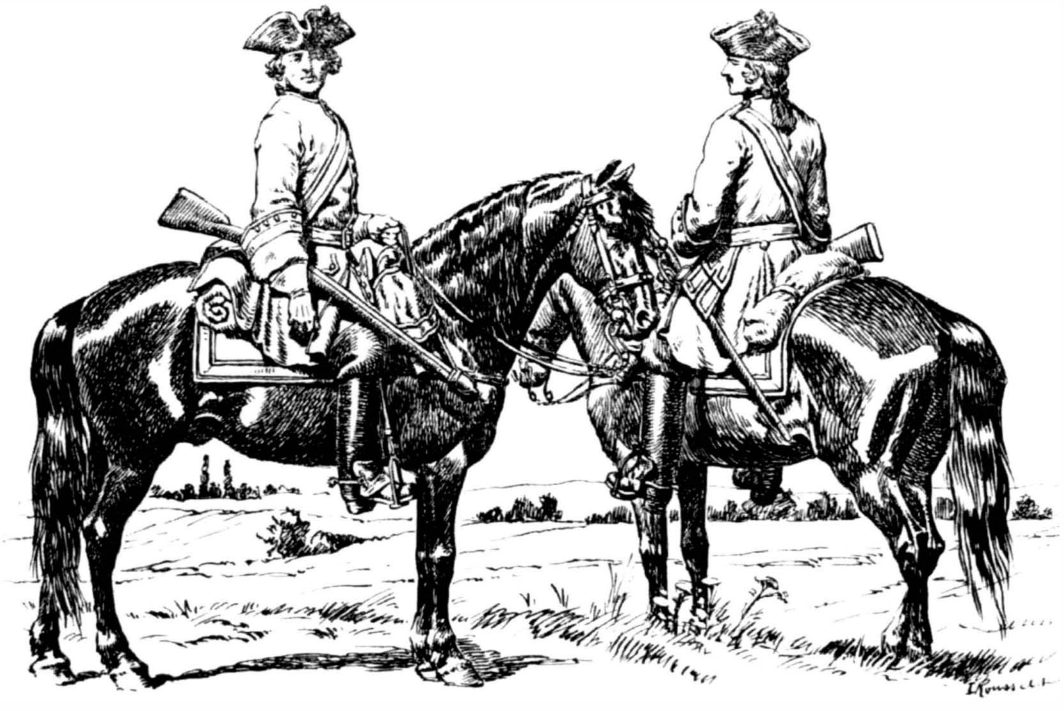
nebulous and not given by Ambert or Susane.



Below: Brigadier and trooper of the Régiment Royal des Carabiniers, early eighteenth century. Blue coat with scarlet cuffs, lining and white metal buttons, buff leather jacket with brass buttons, buff breeches, hat laced with silver, buff belts edged with white. Blue housings edged white. The brigadier NCO has a wide silver lace on each cuff. (Print after L. Rousselot, ***Le Passepoil***, 1930. Author's photo)

uniforms. Nevertheless, their outstanding conduct at the battle of Neerwinden combined with the increasingly well organised and armed opponent armies inspired the consolidation of the carabiniers into a new corps.[10]

Carabiniers du Roi

The November 1693 issue of the *Mercure Galant* announced the creation of a large new unit:

> The regiment of the Carabiniers du Roy is composed of 100 companies of Carabiniers of 30 troopers each, making a total of 3,000 Carabiniers & 400 officers including the Mestre de Camp commanding, the five Mestres de Camp under him, the five lieutenant-colonels, the five majors & the five aides-majors. They form five [brigades each having four] squadrons of five companies each, of which there are two from the old regiments and three from the new ones.

The new unit went by several more or less official names such as Carabiniers du Roi, Royal-Carabiniers or Régiment royal des Carabiniers. Whatever its name, the King's royal ordinance of 1 November 1693 in

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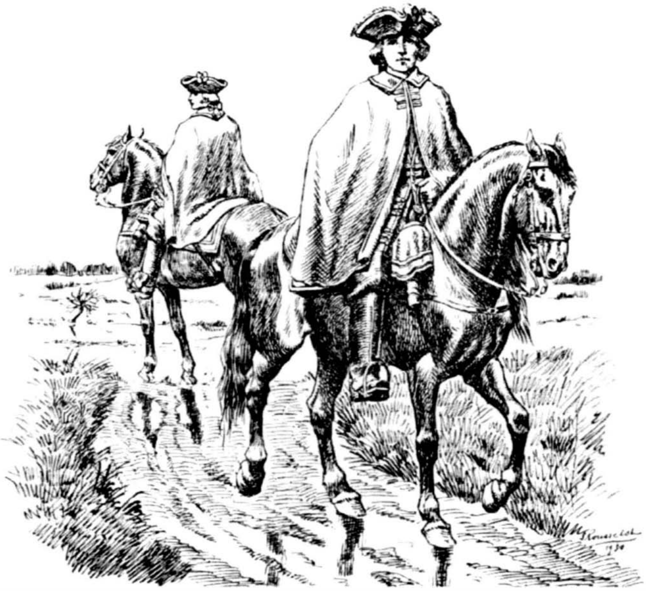
[10] Guimet de Juzancourt, *Notice historique sur le corps des carabiniers français* (Paris: Tenera, 1877), pp.1–9. There were troopers armed with rifled carbines in the royal guard and making up princes' and generals' bodyguards in France and elsewhere. These did not have the same tactical role as carabiniers in line cavalry regiments.



Officers of the Régiment Royal des Carabiniers wearing cloaks, early eighteenth century. The cloak was blue including its collar, the lining was red; narrow silver lace edged the collar and the front which had three silver laces below the collar. (Print after L. Rousselot, ***Le Passepoil***, 1930. Author's photo)

fact created a whole division equivalent to five cavalry regiments. It was honoured with being a royal unit as its name shows and its mestre de camp was the 24-year-old Duc du Maine, the King's legitimised natural son by Madame de Montespan because, according to Daniel, he would make a very good commander for such a unit. The King even wrote some instructions regarding its management and duties since he was particularly proud of this corps. The companies making it up were those of the line cavalry brought together. The uniform was blue rather than grey as befitted a royal unit; there were two standards per squadron and a kettledrummer per brigade. Technically, it was part of the line cavalry, but its precedence was put much higher by the King.

This was certainly an attempt to match, and hopefully surpass, the increasingly efficient units of allied cavalry that the French army had to face. The notion was to create a cavalry division by gathering the carabiniers, elite troopers that they were, into a large and distinct corps. They were not horse grenadiers, but they were to be an elite formation whose troopers could be just as good as the Gendarmerie de France or the guards. While armed with more precise rifled carbines, combat service was to be, on the whole, mounted and their main weapon was the sabre.

Another purpose of this corps in the Sun King's view was to create an elite unit to reward good cavalrymen who were not noble. Unlike the Gendarmerie de France, the Carabiniers du Roi officers and men were from line regiments and largely commoners. Thanks to Louis XIV, they thus bypassed the promotion requirements and pretensions of the nobility. All officers commissions were given by the King at no cost to deserving officers whose means were too modest to be able to buy companies. This extended to NCOs and troopers in that entry into this corps rewarded some of the best and most experienced troopers with better pay as well as belonging to a prestigious corps. The Duc du Maine and his successors as mestre de camp were always princes and Susane suggests, rightly we feel, that this was done to circumvent criticism from the jealous and forever favour-seeking high nobles. A 1696 instruction from the King specified that carabinier troopers had to be veterans of at least two years of service in another cavalry regiment, be of 25 to 40 years old, bachelors, well built, of good morals and values. Should some troopers be caught and found guilty of some offence, the King specified that punishment was not to be "ignominious" except for demotions and dismissal. Only the best were worthy of serving in this corps.

Main Battles, Sieges and Campaigns

This large unit was soon formed, reviewed by the King who was satisfied with what he saw and was then deployed on two fronts. Two brigades served in Flanders and three went south to the Spanish border serving in Roussillon and Catalonia. In Flanders, three squadrons were engaged at Bergues on 27 May 1694 driving off a superior force of seven squadrons of allied cavalry. On 7 August of that year, some 150 carabiniers ran into six troops of enemy cavalry outside of Liège, divided into six groups and charged; they brought down about 30 enemy troopers capturing a dozen more as well as 15 horses. The three brigades on the Spanish border were present at the battle of the River Ter on 27 May 1694. A carabinier charge followed by a general advance by the French army led by Marshal de Noailles provoked the withdrawal of the Spanish troops causing the capitulation of besieged Palamos, Girona, Ostarick and Castelpollit. In 1697, the three brigades were with the French army that besieged and took Barcelona. The following year, the treaty of Riswyck was signed and the strength of the Carabiniers du Roi, like the rest of the army, was reduced to each brigade having eight companies of 20 troopers each.[11]

With the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession in 1702, the Carabiniers du Roi went back to strength and four brigades were sent to Brussels to reinforce its Spanish garrison making sure it rallied to King Felipe V, the Sun King's grandson and candidate to the throne of Spain. Three brigades remained in Flanders while the two others went to Italy and distinguished themselves at Asti in 1705 and the defeat of Torino the following year. They then joined the brigades in Flanders and were at the siege of Lille in 1708. The following year, they were at Malplaquet led by Marshal Villars who was seriously wounded when leading their charge. Villars recovered and the Carabiniers du Roi were part of his army at the outstanding 1712 victory of Denain and present at the captures of Douai, Le Quesnoy and Bouchain. They were deployed on the Rhine front during 1713 and on the Saône River the following year.[12]

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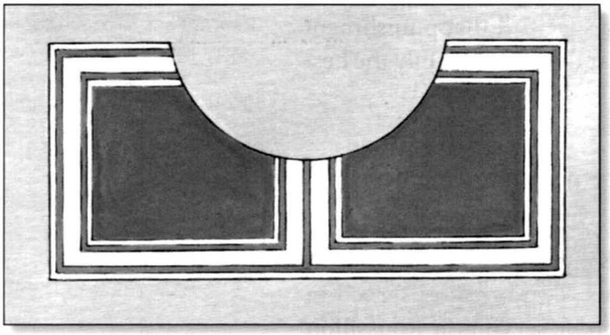
[11] Charles Sevin, Marquis de Quincy, *Histoire militaire du règne de Louis le Grand, roi de France* (Paris, 1726), Vol. 3, pp.8, 58–63.

[12] Juzancourt, *Notice historique sur le corps des carabiniers français*, pp.10–29; Saint-Rémy, *Mémoires d'Artillerie*, Vol. 1, pp.284–285 shows the rifled carbine and the "fine and common" pistols that had 14 inch barrels, the Carabiniers du Roi did indeed have better pistols.

Uniforms, Weapons, Standards

The November 1693 *Mercure Galant* published the carabiniers' uniform, equipment arms and weapons as follows:



Housings of the Carabiniers du Roi, late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Blue with white border lace. This basic pattern was typical for all cavalry regiments. The colour and lace detail might vary according to regiments. In some instances embroidered coats of arms were at the corners. (Courtesy Yves Martin collection and photo)

> The regiment will be dressed in blue lined with red, the troopers in a good cloth and the officers the same except that they have silver thread buttons and a silver lace on the cuffs and at the collar of the cloaks that will be blue like those of the men.
>
> The [officer's] hat will be edged with a silver lace broader than that of the troopers.
>
> The trooper's housings blue, all uniform, edged with white silk lace and the pistol holsters also, their buff waist belt edged with white leather and the bandoleer also, black gloves and cravats. The officers will also have the same except that what is white for the troopers, they will have in silver. The horse's headstalls to be proper and all uniform; the bosses gilded also; the sword [blades] are the same length and width, the carbines rifled uniformly with everything needed to load them, notably having balls of two calibres, one to be entered with force with the hammer and the iron ramrod, and the others smaller to reload speedily if needed.
>
> The pistols to be the best that can be found with barrels 15 inches long. The horses all of the same size, with long tails turned up the same, without ribbons or tail-trusses.
>
> Every four squadrons will have a kettledrummer in the company of the mestre de camp dressed in the royal livery, without gold or silver, as [will] the trumpeters of all the companies.
>
> Every four squadrons will have a chaplain, to whom a chapel will be provided.
>
> There will be great care to procure only good horses so that this unit will always be in a state to carry out what it has been ordered to do ... Two standards [will be required] for each squadron with a well chosen motto, having the sun on one side and on the other sprinkled with lilies, the same as most of the other regiments of the king. The troopers only have tin buttons.

These instructions basically set the dress, weapons and equipment of the Carabiniers du Roi for many years to come. They were confirmed in later descriptions (see illustrations and appendices below).

11

The Cavalry of the Line

The Cavalry's Strength

As can be seen in the extensive appendix listing cavalry regiments (including dragoons and hussars), there were a great many of them although they formed a significantly smaller part of the army. Up to the 1670s, French cavalry regiments were very often raised and disbanded and, as individual units, were not very numerous in numbers of troopers. Thereafter, the cavalry establishment was more stable and many regiments made were kept from one war to the next, the peacetime strength being down to half of the wartime numbers of troopers. It was nevertheless still the largest cavalry force in western and central Europe.[1]

The line cavalry organisation that devolved to the attention of the young Sun King from the 1650s had its roots two decades earlier. In the early 1630s, cavalry units consisted of independent companies of variable strength and capacity raised by noblemen in wartime when the Crown needed troops that were usually disbanded when hostilities ended. They were notoriously lacking in discipline, officers as well as troopers. At the time, Louis XIII's Prime Minister was Cardinal Richelieu. In 1634, he turned his attention to the nation's cavalry force determined to put some order and logic into it. That year, he first organised the various independent companies into 91 squadrons, each numbering 100 men. Then, he had the King sign an order on 26 May 1635 that reorganised the cavalry into more manageable tactical units by the formation of 12 regiments made up of French troopers and officers. Furthermore, two foreign cavalry regiments to be in French pay were raised by the Duc de Savoie, and a third regiment of German troopers that had been led by Jean, Comte de Gassion when in the Swedish army of King Gustavus Adolphus now came into France's cavalry establishment.

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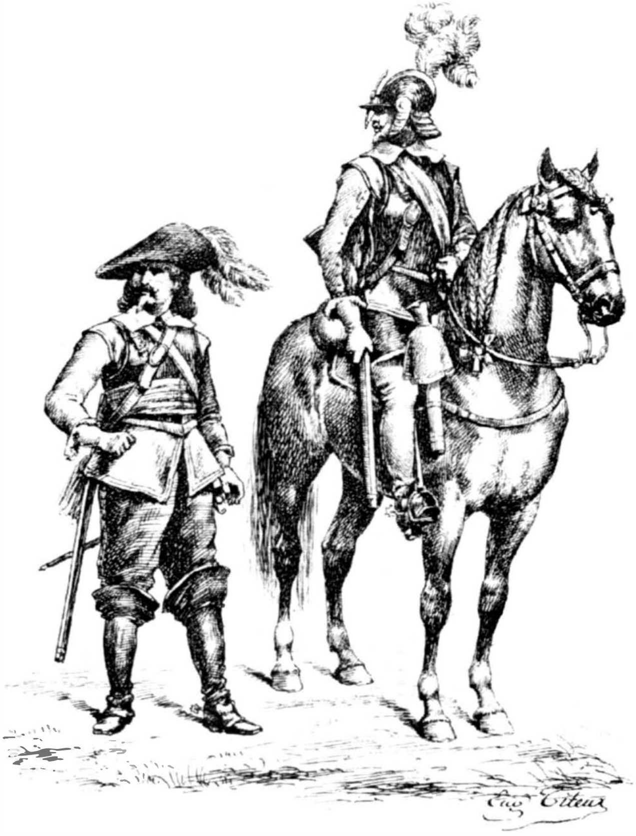
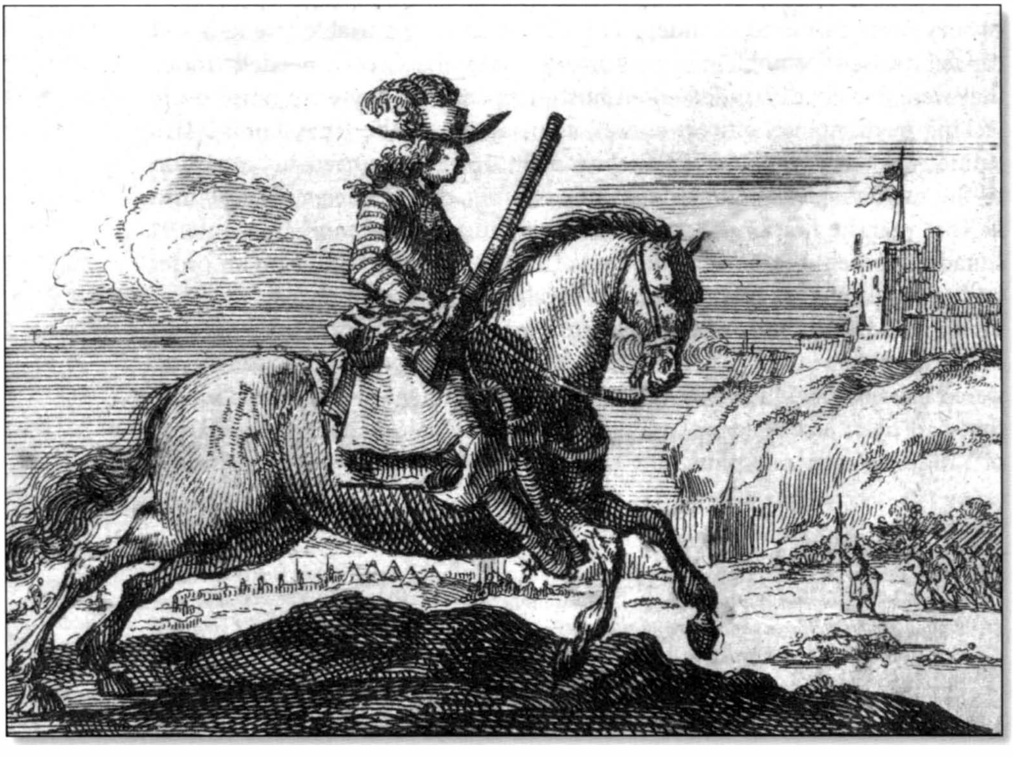
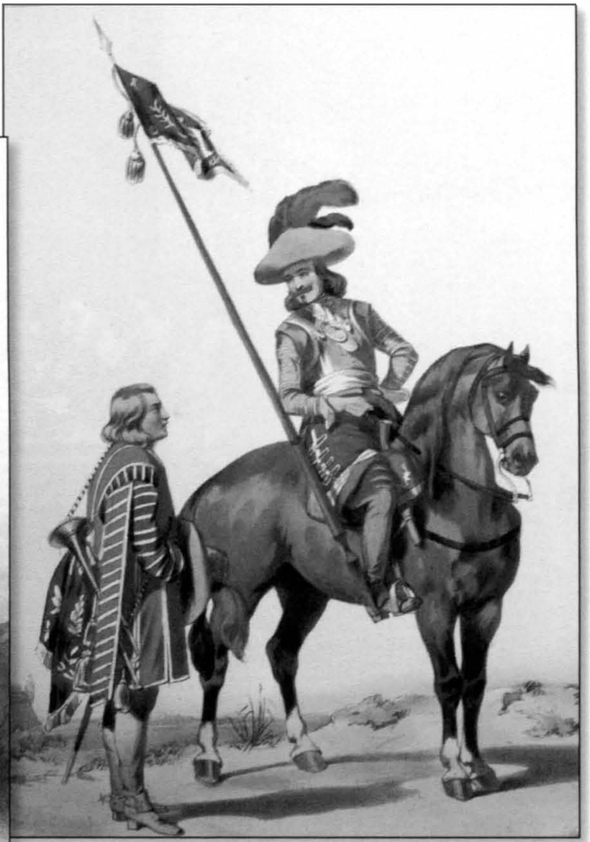
[1] Unless otherwise noted, the data for this cavalry section comes mainly from Henri Choppin, *La cavalerie française* (Paris: Garnier, 1893); Camille Rousset, *Histoire de Louvois et de son administration politique et militaire jusqu'à la paix de Nimègue* (Paris: Didier, 1864), 3 volumes; M.F. Sicard, *Histoire des Institutions militaires des Français* (Paris: Corréard, 1831), Vol. 2; Louis Susane, *Histoire de la cavalerie française* (Paris: J. Dumaine, 1874), 3 volumes; Victor Belhomme, *L'Armée française en 1690* (Paris: Baudoin, 1895) and the BMA *Ordonnances* collection.

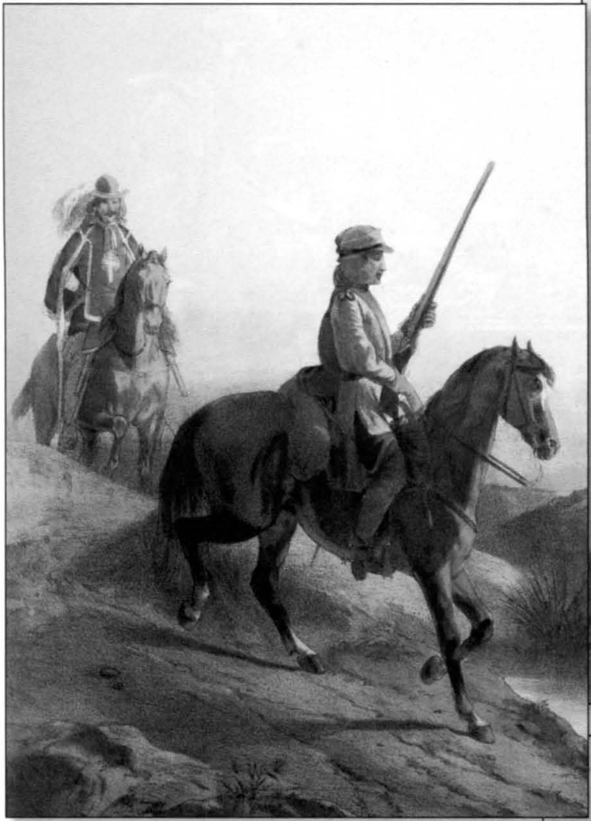


Left: Cavalry troopers, mid seventeenth century. There could be variations in the dress of cavalry trooper. There were no uniforms yet, but all would have had buff leather coats, some might have cuirasses with helmets and others hats, and white sashes to denote their nationality. (Print after Eugène Titeu in ***Précis historique des régiments de cuirassiers***. Author's photo)

Below: A cavalry trooper, mid seventeenth century. He wears a buff leather jacket. (Detail of a print after Romeyn de Hooghe. Courtesy Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-1913-5995)

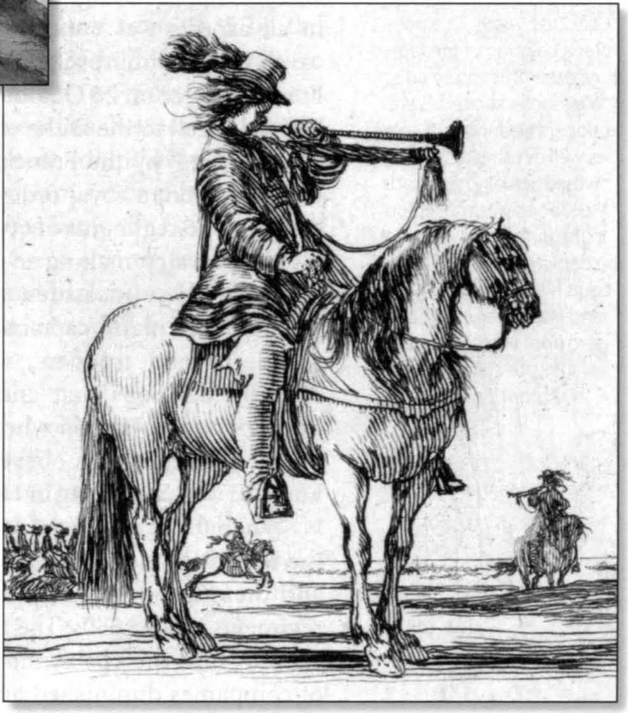




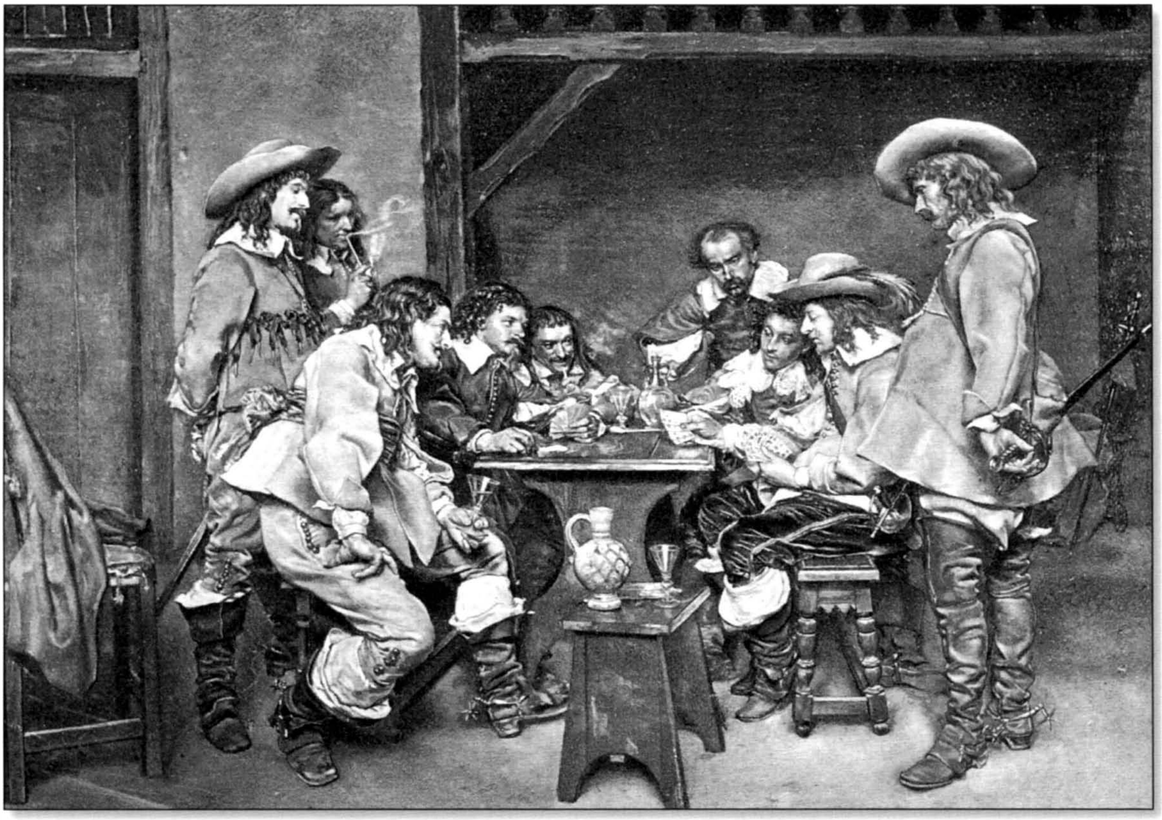


Above: A mounted fusilier with a Garde du Corps trooper, mid seventeenth century. The mounted fusilier wears a buff jacket and cap while the Garde du Corps trooper dons a red cassock (see Volume 1 for details). (Print after Marbot. Canadian War Museum, Ottawa. Author's photo)

Top right: A mounted cornet with a dismounted trumpeter. The cornet is well appointed with buff jacket and cuirass while the trumpeter wears a coat in the livery colours of the mestre de camp. (Print after Marbot. Canadian War Museum, Ottawa. Author's photo)



Right: Cavalry trumpeter, mid seventeenth century. He wears a coat of his mestre de camp's livery. (Print after Stefano della Bella. Courtesy Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-34.476)



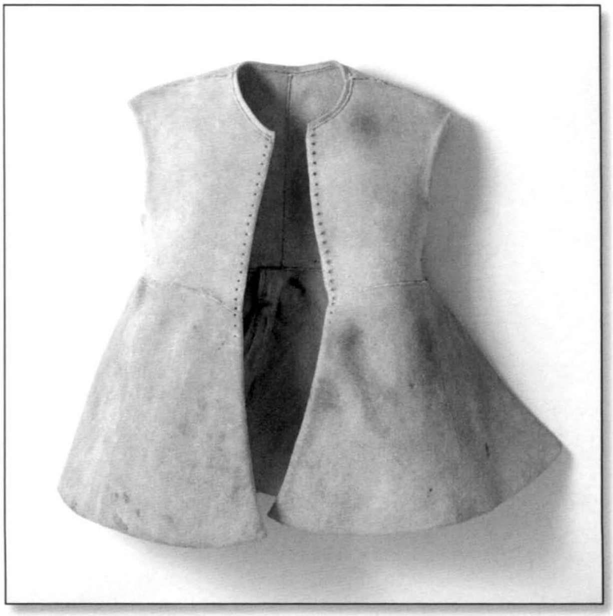
Above: Cavalrymen at a game of cards, 1640s. This print after a painting of the famed nineteenth-century artist Meissonier shows several troopers wearing buff coats as well as other items they would actually have had: Meissonier was meticulous in the authenticity of what he depicted. The buff jackets, Louis XIII style, the furniture and likely everything else were from actual examples. (Private collection. Author's photo)

The arrival of foreign cavalrymen was simply because their reputation in all aspects was outstanding. So that the message for reluctant French cavalrymen to improve greatly was perfectly understood, Richelieu took into French service on 26 October of that year 16 veteran German regiments that had belonged to the Duke of Saxe-Weymar. They were soon nicknamed the "Weymariens" by the French. On 24 January 1638, thanks to the influence of de Gassion, a royal order prescribed that the cavalry would henceforth consist of 36 regiments of 600 men each organised and manoeuvring like the Swedish cavalry, making an establishment of 21,600 men.

By all these measures, the undisciplined conduct and self-appointed privileges of many captains, who naturally set a poor example to their subalterns and troopers, were much receded by the contact of more disciplined troops that answered to central authority. Some companies belonging to noblemen who were too powerful were simply disbanded and the others henceforth obeyed royal authority. Thus, by the time the infant Louis XIV became King in 1643, his line cavalry was as good as any in Europe.

When the Thirty Years' War ended in 1648, the number of cavalrymen in the French armies was reduced to 4,000. However, with the Fronde revolts and the ongoing war with Spain, the strength went back up to some 170 regiments in the 1650s. The 1638 regimental organisation had been gradually altered since the 1640s, the number of regiments rising while the number of companies diminished and was not the same from one unit to the next. Usually, there were two companies per squadron and two or three squadrons per regiment in wartime. Each company had, officially, 46 troopers per company in 1654 and some 50 officers and men was a full strength average in wartime. In theory, that made regiments of 200 or 300 men.

The line cavalry was then officially know as the *Cavalerie légère* (light cavalry), the main reason being that the really heavy cavalry of the sixteenth century wore armour until the early seventeenth century when it was gradually given up, notably by the Swedish cavalry of King Gustavus Adolphus, an example followed by all major European armies. The lance had largely vanished in the second half of the sixteenth century and the armour-wearing heavy cavalry used swords in charges at a trot while light cavalry armed with firearms would advance in six ranks, each rank firing in turn on the opponents then going back to reload and fire again when its rank came up front. Gustavus Adolphus reorganised his cavalry into two types: cavalrymen wearing cuirasses and armed with a sabre and a pair of pistols; dragoons armed with a sabre, a pistol and a hatchet. Tactically, the cuirassed cavalry was formed in four ranks, the last being the reserve, and all charged in close formation at the gallop into the enemy sabre pointed for maximum shock, pistols would be used only when necessary in close order fighting.[2]



A seventeenth-century cavalry buff jacket. These jackets were much the same, even identical, from one army to another. This remarkably well-preserved example once belonged to a Dutch officer, but the same type could have been seen on French troopers too. (Courtesy Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, NG-NM-1100)

These tactics were introduced into the French army from 1635 by the Comte de Gassion (promoted Marshal of France in 1643), following his service in the Swedish army. Dragoons were not widely raised in France at that time, but the line cavalry imitated the Swedes. In some cases, helmets and breast and back cuirasses were worn, but in France, most troops eventually only had buff leather jackets for protection by the mid 1650s. Some few, however, remained as lightened cuirassiers, the most famous being the Cuirassiers du Roi Regiment, as the former Aumont Regiment was christened in 1656; it became the only unit whose troopers had breast and back cuirasses after 1664. All the others were without armour or, at the most, wore only breastplates.

Companies and Regiments

Following the end of the war with Spain, all line cavalry regiments were ordered disbanded on 7 September 1659 although a few were actually kept at full or reduced strength (Royal, Du Roi, Carabins du Roi, Royal-étranger, La Reine, Reine-mère, Monsieur, Duc d'Yorck) that were the king's or a prince's

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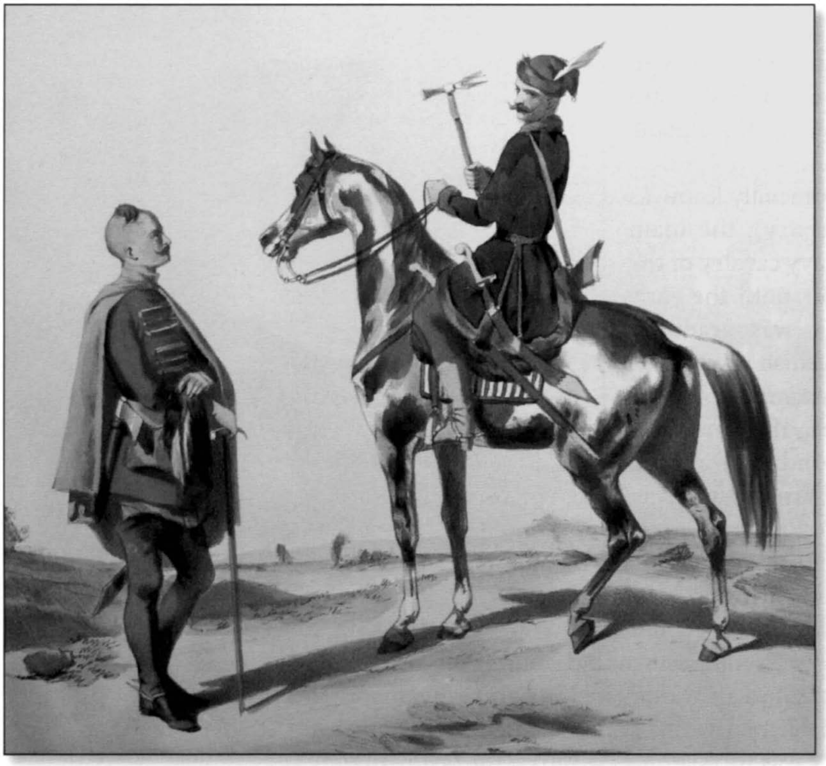
[2] Richard Brzezinski, *The Army of Gustaphus Adolphus 2 Cavalry* (London: Osprey MAA 262, 1993), pp.10–11.

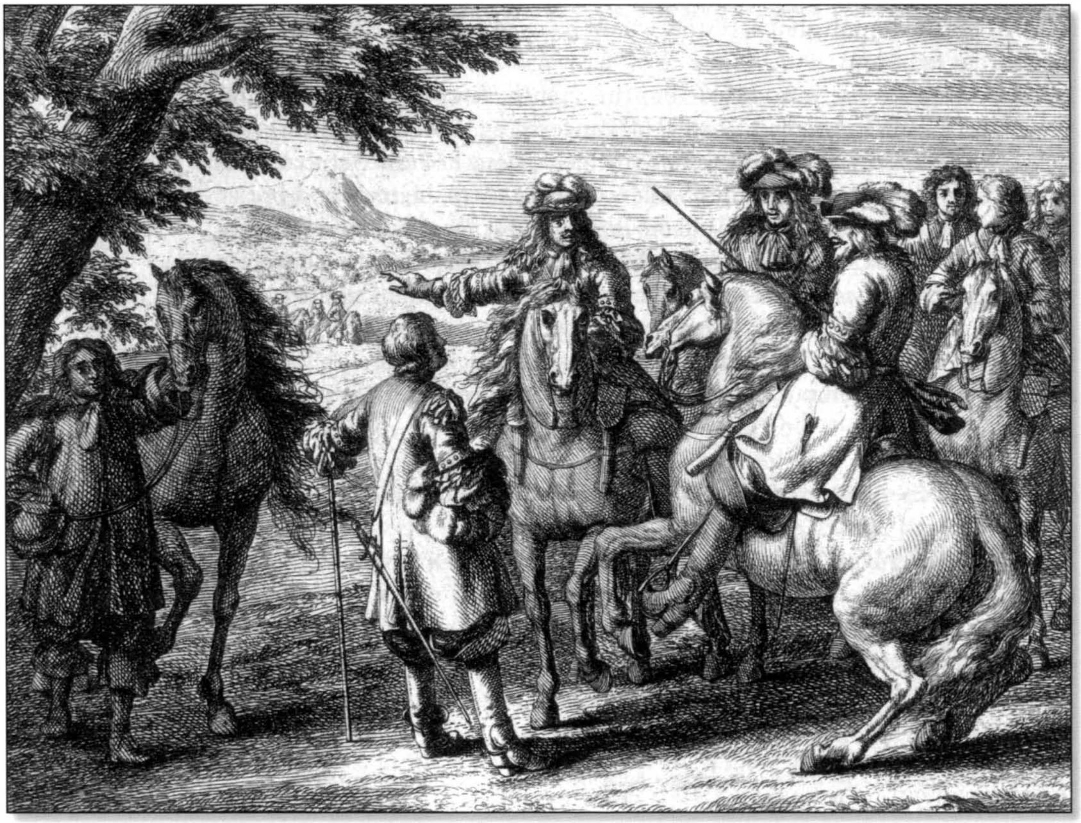


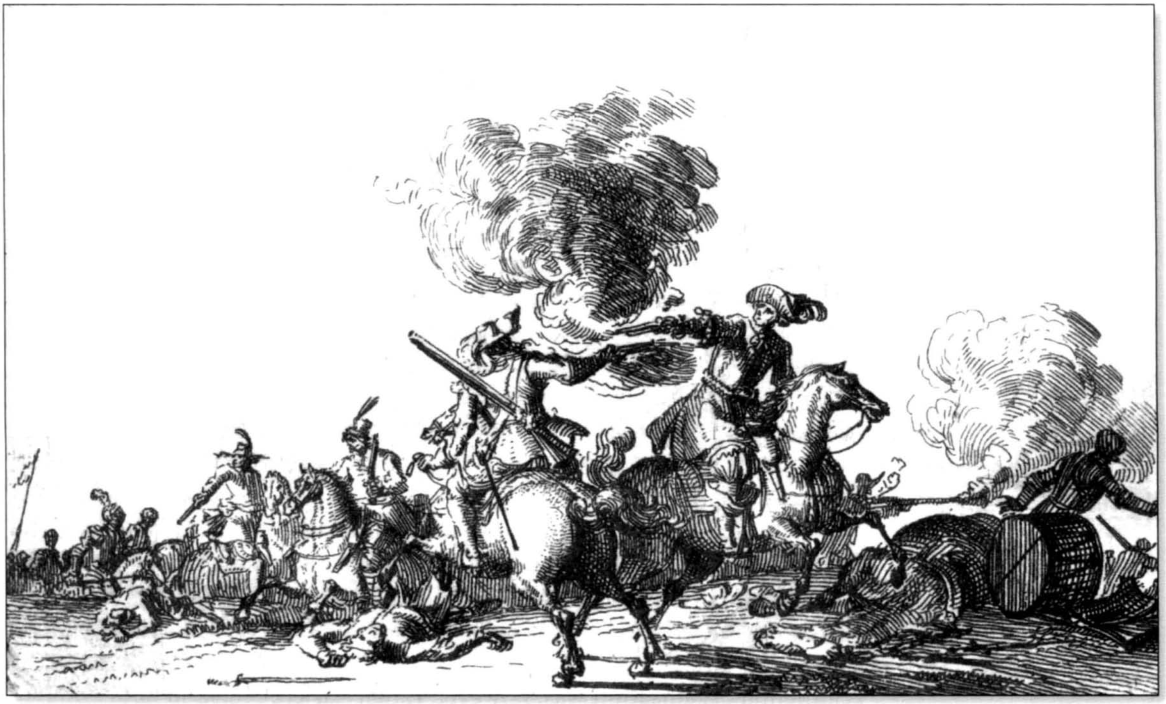
Facing page, above: A cavalry fight, mid seventeenth century. Detail of a print after Romeyn de Hooghe. (Courtesy Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-1913-5949)

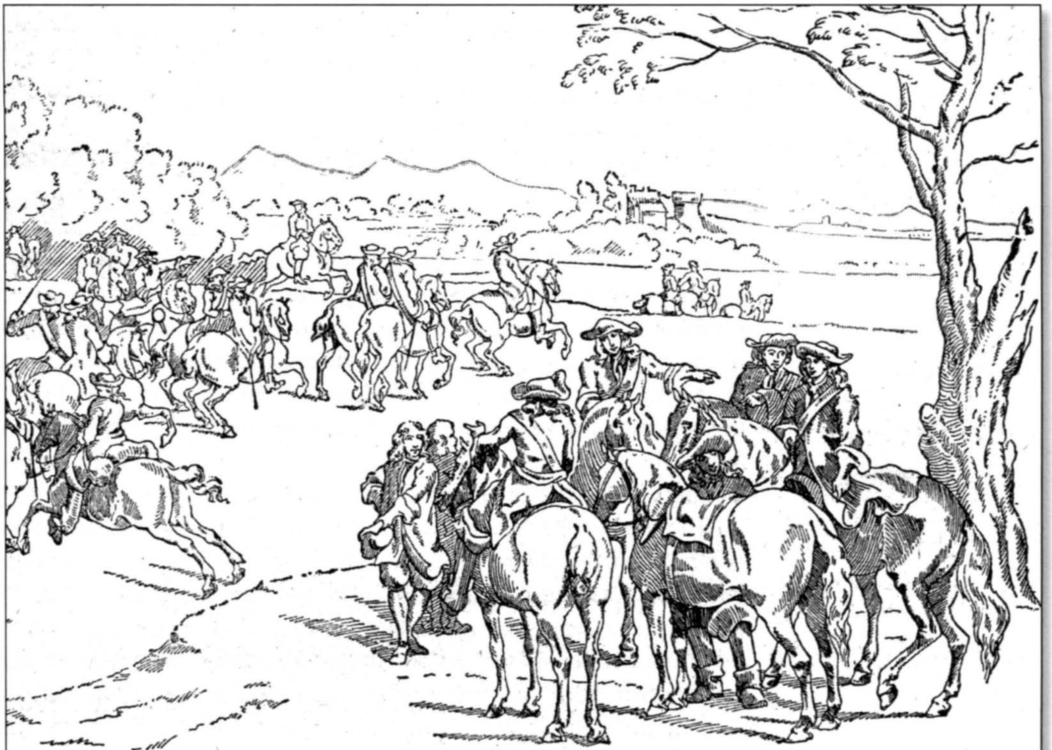
Facing page, below: A cavalry unit marching on campaign, c. 1667. (Print after van der Meulen. Private collection. Author's photo)

Left: Croat and Polish cavalrymen in French service, mid seventeenth century. (Print after Marbot. The Canadian War Museum, Ottawa. Author's photo)

Below: A group of cavalry officers, *c*. 1667. (Print after van der Meulen. Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library, Providence, RI, USA)







unit. This reduction, which went on gradually until April 1661, was actually not the total disappearance of the disbanded regiments. At least one company from each of the disbanded regiments was kept on the strength as a cadre. This was a relatively novel measure that ensured that henceforth a force of experienced officers and troopers remained permanently employed in the army in peacetime. They thus remained as independent cavalry companies.

While French army regimental lineage has a strong genealogical flavour to justify ancestry going back to Ancien Régime regiments, we have simply opted to list regiments (see Appendix I) when they appeared as such, especially as many did not have the same commander when raised again, and because our purpose is more to have a clear view of what was the actual state of the cavalry with regimental status. The peacetime independent companies, as good and pedigreed as they may have been, were a confusing interlude; we have doubts about the efficiency of such units since they would not be likely to train and manoeuvre in several squadrons.

The independent company organisation was eventually abandoned in favour of the regimental system. A first rebirth of regiments occurred in 1665 when some 37 regiments were raised who were all commanded by former regimental *mestre de camp* (as colonels were called) with a few more later on raising the strength to 820 officers and 10,890 troopers by April 1667. The regimental organisation was, however, rather varied:

9 regiments of 6 companies
32 regiments of 4 companies
3 regiments of 3 companies
Carabins du Roi Regiment 14 companies
12 independent cavalry companies

This made 205 companies of line cavalry. A company had 60 troopers in the first nine regiments and 50 troopers in the others. There were also two regiments of dragoons amounting to 22 companies making up about 1,100 men for a total of some 12,810 line mounted men. Adding the 2,800 troopers of the guard cavalry made 15,610 officers and men. By the end of the War of Devolution, the total was reckoned at some 35,000 horsemen. From May 1668, the regiments were again reduced to companies led by their mestre de camp although, at the behest of Marshal Turenne, their strength went up to 100 troopers. Nevertheless, this brought the line cavalry down to about 8,000 men.

The end of the War of Devolution in 1668 was also the end of the few companies of *carabins*, which were a form of light cavalry whose origin went back to the sixteenth century. They did not have much armour and their main weapon was a musket. Their demise may also have been partly prompted by the presence of some 3,000 Hungarians and Croats who performed light cavalry functions with the French army from the 1630s to 1656 when they were all disbanded. Thus, from the late 1660s to the early 1690s, there was no light cavalry in the French army.

On 1 February 1670, each company of cavalry was reorganised into a squadron by dividing its 100 troopers into two companies of 50 men. This was really the nucleus of future regiments. As squadrons, they formed a better tactical unit insofar as training.[3]

On 1 July 1671, a third company added so that the squadron now had companies of 60 to 70 troopers each. A squadron thereafter always had three companies during the Sun King's reign. On 22 November 1671, another order allowed lieutenants to include one valet in the musters so long as he be "well mounted [meaning here with a horse instead of a donkey], armed and equipped as befits a cavalry trooper". This order was the origin of the orderly trooper that was attached to each officer. Yet another adjustment came on 10 March 1672 when only one trumpeter was henceforth allowed in each company.

Meanwhile, on 4 February 1672, most of the 66 squadrons were raised to six companies each and all were retitled regiments. By March 1672, the cavalry stood at:[4]

52 cavalry regiments at six companies of 54 men each: 16,848
22 cavalry regiments at three companies of 54 men each: 3,564
6 foreign cavalry regiments at various number of companies each: 3,196
120 companies of recruits for cavalry regiments: 6,000
2 regiments of dragoons at six companies: 948

For a total of 20,593 cavalrymen.

In June 1672 when France invaded the Netherlands, the Sun King's cavalry numbered about 35,000 mounted troops. By January 1678, the cavalry had increased to 99 regiments mustering some 47,100 line cavalrymen and 9,840 dragoons spread in 14 dragoon regiments. The dragoons thus had a spectacular increase and are described separately in Chapter 14. With the guards and the Gendarmerie de France, this represented over 60,000 cavalrymen of all types in a French army of about 280,000 officers and men.

Predictably, numbers went down again following the end of the war on 10 August 1678 when many regiments were disbanded. However, this time all the mestre de camp companies were kept and gathered into remaining regiments. On 24 December 1678, the 380 cavalry companies were reduced to 40 troopers and again to 30 by the end of 1681. On 8 March 1682, 160 new companies were authorised to form new regiments joined by another 250 companies on 7 May and some 205 companies on 25 September 1683. This went up again with renewed hostilities in 1689.

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[3] The squadrons were, by precedence: Colonel Général, Mestre de Camp Général, Royal, Du Roi, Royal-étranger, Cuirassiers du Roi, Cravates, Royal-Roussillon, La Reine, Dauphin, Orléans, Enghien, Condé,,Beauvisé, Bissy, Calvo, Des Fourneaux, Foucauld, Gassion, Joyeuse, Larboust, La Feuillée, Lorges, Pilloy, Rouvray, Resnel, Aumont, Verdelin, Tilladet, Saint-Loup, Beaufort, Carcado, Humières,, Gournay, Doucet, Vachot, La Plante, Trécourt, Mézières, Wolf, Estrades, Catheux, Prouville, Lambert, La Rablière, Chevrier, Coulanges, Montaigle, Lescar, Du Vernay, Beaupré, Don Luc, Coste, Des Lombarts, Melin, Lachaux, Sourdis, Lépine, Illes, Bligny, D'Auger, Plessis-Praslin, Nogent, Choiseul, Sommyèvre, San-Esteban. As per Susane, *Histoire de la cavalerie*, Vol. pp.120–121. The number of companies per squadron was increased to four in 1733.

[4] Quincy, *Histoire militaire* ...Vol. 1, 311–312; *Mercure Galant*, 1672, pp.235–242, 245. In the foreign cavalry, Piémont had 9 companies of 54 men and one of 64 men; Konigsmarck had 10 companies of 54 men; Schomberg, Rosen and Housset (most likely Royal-étranger) three companies of 54 men. Colonel Général Dragon had six companies of 104 men each; Dragons du Roi three companies of 54 men each.

At that time, a company of cavalry consisted of: one captain, one lieutenant, one cornet, one standard bearer, four maréchaux des logis, two brigadiers, two carabiniers, one *maréchal ferrand* (farrier) a trumpeter and 40 troopers. On 22 February 1689, a chaplain and a surgeon were added to the staff of each cavalry regiment. A year later, there were 116 line cavalry regiments and 31 dragoon regiments. The numbers of cavalrymen and dragoons were for:[5]

1691–1693: 60,000
1696: 80,000

This broke down in detail at the end of 1690, according to Belhomme, to: 112 cavalry regiments, 1,434 companies, 366 squadrons gathering 58,420 troopers and 6,588 officers. Officers are often not computed or simply not mentioned in the records so that the establishment had actually 65,008 officers and troopers. Dragoons were a further 20,960 men and 2,182 officers that made 88,150 all ranks in the line mounted services of the French army.

Largest Cavalry Force in Europe

If one added the royal guards cavalry (about 3,200), the Gendarmerie (about 4,600), the guard companies of the princes, marshals and generals (about 10,000) and the mounted armed constabulary (about 3,500 to 4,000), the theoretical total surpassed 109,000 regular cavalrymen of all types in the last years of the War of the League of Augsburg.

Whatever the actual number, it was by far the largest cavalry force in Europe. By comparison, in 1693 Great Britain had an establishment of 8,490 cavalry troopers and 3,038 dragoons for a total of 11,528. On 18 October 1693, a royal order of the Sun King noted that companies of 50 troopers were more difficult to keep up, so their strength was brought down to 40, but appear to have gone back up to 50 later on.

After peace was signed in 1698, the number regiments was reduced to 60, but in 1701 company strength was raised which augmented the line cavalry by some 20,000 troopers and 35,000 the following year. By 1707, a list of the army counted some 924 companies of line cavalry in the various French regiments, three foreign cavalry regiments, five brigades of Carabiniers du Roi, 400 dragoon companies, 24 hussar companies and 22 independent companies. This could have amounted to about 90,000 men including about 8,000 officers. Adding the royal guard cavalry, the Gendarmerie de France, the guards of princes, marshals and generals and the mounted constabulary would put it over 100,000 officers and troopers as in 1690. There may have been up to 135 cavalry regiments during the War of the Spanish Succession that were reduced to 58 by 1715.

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[5] Weygand, *Histoire de l'Armée française*; Éstat …1696, Musée Ile Sainte-Hélène, Montreal.

12

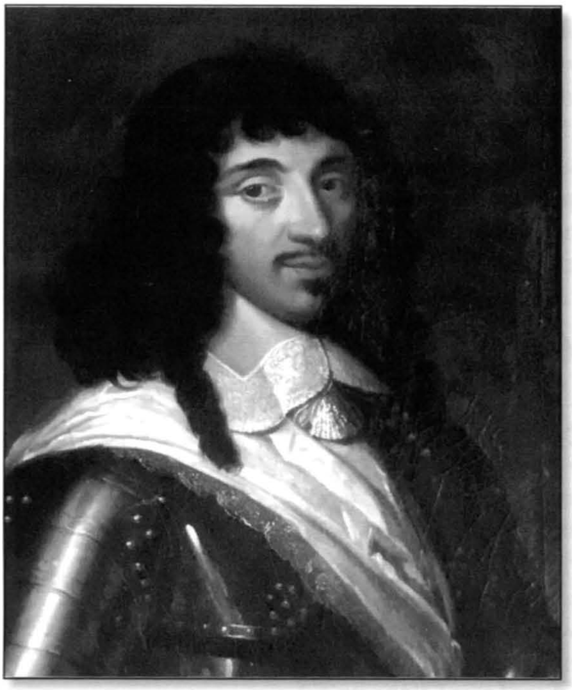
Line Cavalry Colonel Général, Mestre de Camp Général and Commissaire Général

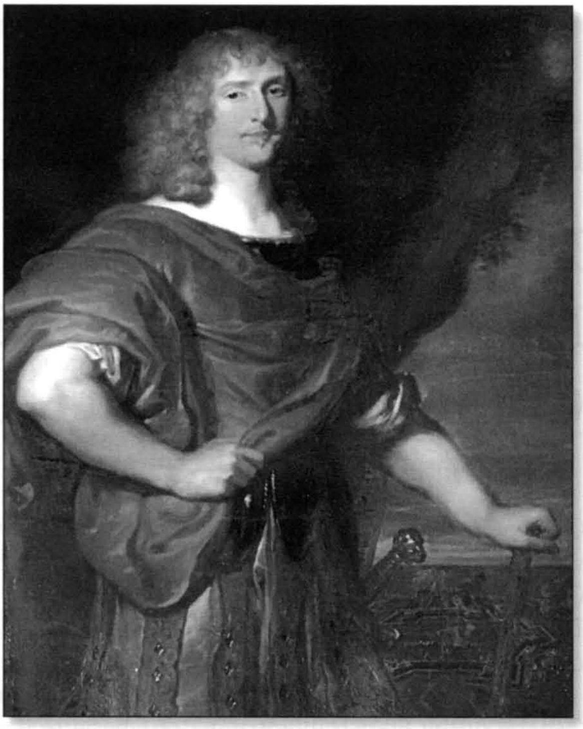
One command structure that Louis XIV inherited was the existence of the venal posts of Colonel Général, Mestre de Camp Général and Commissaire Général of cavalry that were supposed to supervise that arm of the service. These three general officers were to be the *État-Major* (general staff) of line cavalry units.

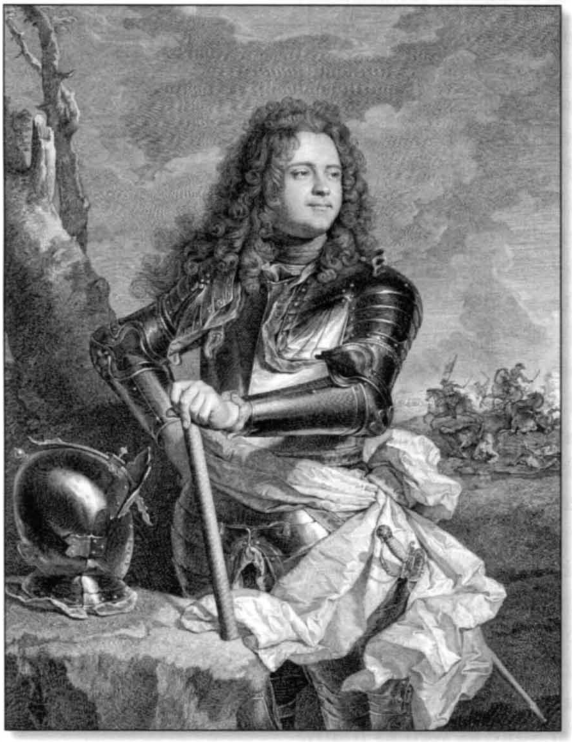
As seen in Vol. 1, the Sun King abolished the post of Mestre de Camp Général of the French infantry in 1661 because it was too powerful a post in the army and he himself assumed its power and duties. Once that was done, such posts for foreign infantry, cavalry and dragoons did not have to be abolished; the King's action had in fact totally curtailed their powers and the royal will was clearly the benchmark. So these venal posts continued in those arms of the service and noblemen continued to pay handsome sums to obtain them.

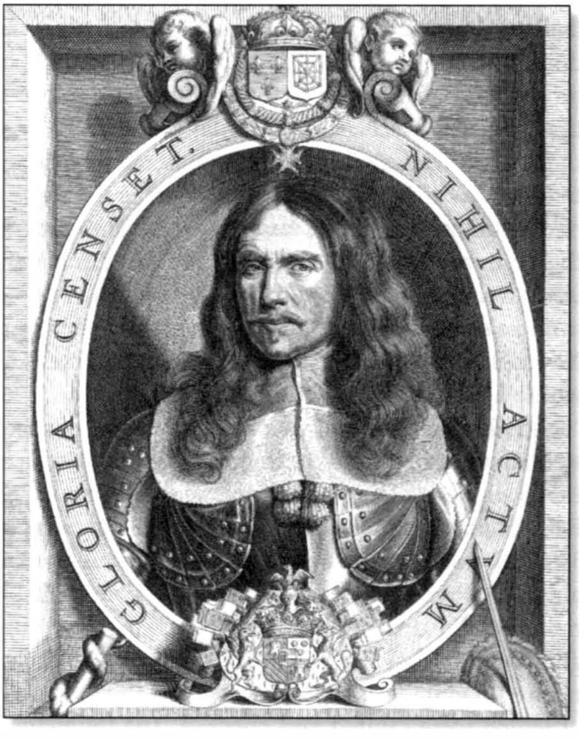
The title of "mestre de camp" for the commander of a line cavalry regiment therefore continued to be used. It was the equivalent of "colonel" which was used in the infantry from 1661, but there was no need to change such titles in the cavalry because its Mestre de Camp Général had not been abolished. Nevertheless, a cavalry mestre de camp might sometimes be called colonel, which he was also.

The Colonel Général, Mestre de Camp Général and Commissaire Général were, if anything, even more prestigious under such a ruler as the Sun King, especially for the cavalry, always seen as a more "noble" part of the service. For instance, in March 1666, the young Sun King hosted a parade of some 33 cavalry squadrons with 19 infantry battalions in a field between Mouchy and Compiègne in the presence of the Queen and her suite as well as many noblemen and their ladies and, further away, crowds hoping to catch a glimpse of the royalty and the troops. On 14 March occurred a review of the troops lined up to be seen by the King, the Queen with all the princesses, all of which were saluted and cheered. The following day was the prestigious parade of all the troops marching past the King. At the head rode Marshal








GLORIA CENSET. NIHIL ACTVM

Facing page, clockwise from top left:

Marshal Jean de Gassion, ***Maître de camp généra***l of the cavalry, *c.* 1645. Born in August 1609 in a distinguished Protestant family in Béarn, Gassion first served under Gustavus Adolphus's Swedish army. Joining the French army in 1635, Gassion introduced it to the new Swedish cavalry tactics, greatly distinguished himself in campaigns, notably at Rocroi, and was promoted marshal of France in 1643. He was Louis XIVs first ***Maître de camp général*** of cavalry, having the post from 1641 to his death at the siege of Lens in October 1647. (Château de Bussy-Rabutin, Burgundy. Author's photo)

Roger de Bussy, Comte de Rabutin, *c.* 1655. Usually known as Bussy-Rabutin. Born in 1618, he went on his first campaign at 16 and succeeded his father as lieutenant general in 1645. During the Fronde revolts, he joined the King's party and, was appointed ***Maître de camp général*** of the army's cavalry in 1653. Having been too much of a wit at the royal court, he was exiled to his estates in 1665. This unsigned portrait shows him dressed as a Roman general. (Château de Bussy-Rabutin, Burgundy. Author's photo)

Marshal Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, Vicomte de Turenne, 1658. One of the most outstanding tacticians of his time, Turenne became C***olonel général de la cavalerie*** in 1657, post he held until killed in battle in 1675. Turenne's cavalry regiment therefore became the Colonel Général's Regiment from 1657. (Courtesy Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-1920-1901)

Lieutenant General Louis de la Tour d'Auvergne, Comte d'Evreux, *c.* 1700. He was ***Colonel général de la cavalerie***. (Print after H. Rigaud. Courtesy Yale University Art Gallery, New London, CT, USA)

Turenne as Colonel Général of Cavalry followed by the Duc the Coislin as Mestre de Camp Général of Cavalry. At that time, such protocolary events were immensely important to leading members of society in a world that valued privilege in ways that have since become difficult to understand. Whatever they meant, obtaining such posts came thanks to a lot of influential politicking at the very top and a lot of money.[1]

The recipients, however, did not have the command powers that their titles implied although the individuals who filled them had a certain guarantee of permanent employment on the staff and for maintaining their own cavalry regiments. So there was competition to obtain these titles. The regiments of the titular head of the posts took the names of Colonel Général or of Mestre de Camp Général while their commander held that post.

In that regard, Marshal Turenne's example is as good as any. An early Colonel Général Regiment existed since 1635 under the Duc d'Angoulême, then his son, the Comte d'Alais followed by the Duc de Joyeuse who was killed in 1654. It seemed obvious that Marshal Turenne, the nation's premier soldier and leading cavalryman should then have the post. Certainly, Turenne wished to have it, but the ever-scheming Prime Minister Cardinal Mazarin thought it might not be a good idea to have a well known Huguenot, who was not quite ready to change religion, become Colonel Général, but he did not appoint anyone else. As for the Colonel Général Regiment, it was sent to campaign in Italy under the command of its senior captain. Meanwhile, Turenne assumed the duties, but was not officially confirmed in the post. The deadlock finally broke in late 1656 when the regiment was disbanded and the title granted to Marshal Turenne. His own regiment then adopted the title of Colonel Général, which it bore until the French Revolution. Turenne was

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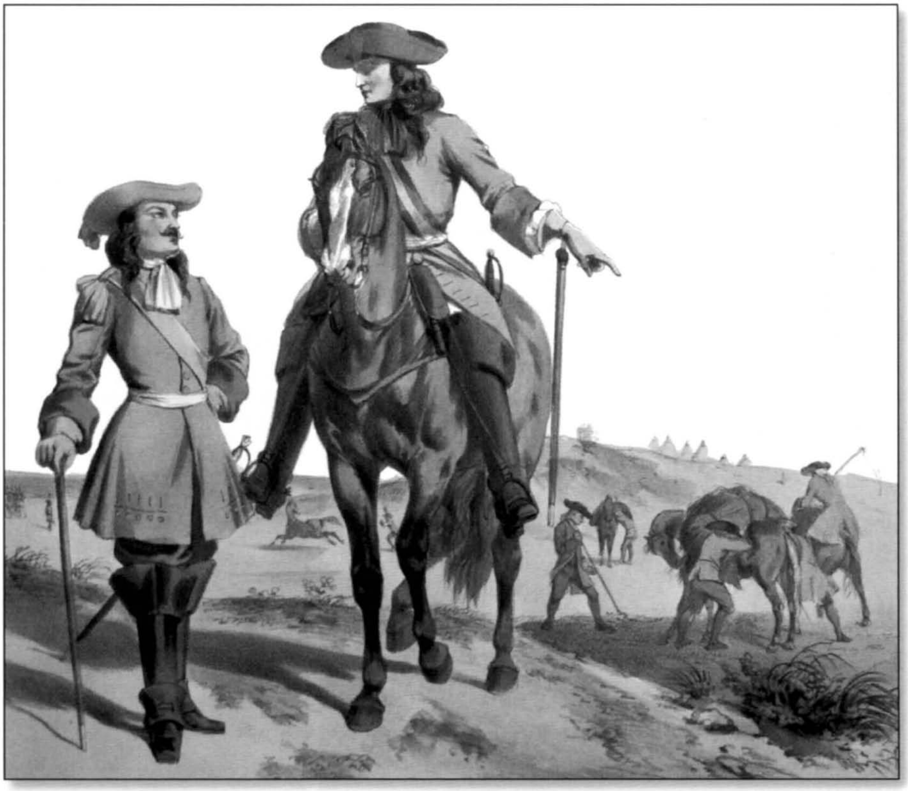
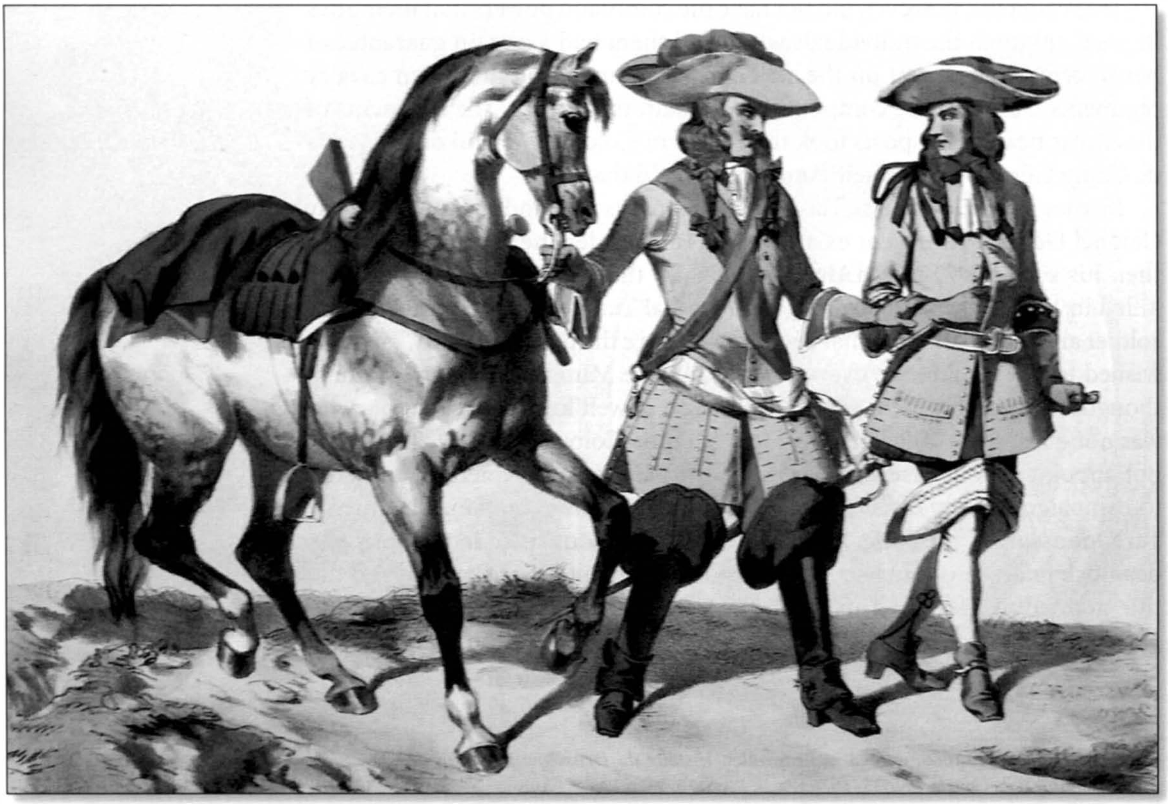
[1] *Gazettes nouvelles* 1666, quoted in Rothwiller, *Histoire du Deuxième Régiment de Cuirassiers ancien Royal de Cavalerie 1635–1876* (Paris: Plon, 1877), p.79.

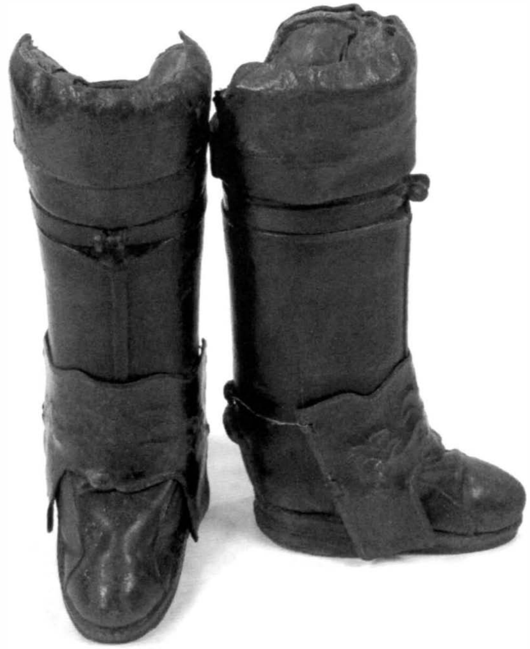




thus officially the protocolary senior cavalryman of France, but he had little time for that aspect as he was also, by then, the senior and best commander of the whole army.[2]

Marshal Jean, Comte de Gassion (1609–1647) was infant Louis XIV's first Mestre de Camp Général of cavalry from 1641. He was a distinguished and experienced soldier who had served in the legendary Swedish army of Gustavus Adolphus. In the French army from 1635, he introduced the new Swedish cavalry tactics. He was in many battles, notably Rocroi in 1643, where the decisive actions of his cavalry earned him the marshal's baton. Being Protestant, he was not awarded the Order of the Holy Spirit. He was mortally wounded at the siege of Lens in 1647 and succeeded by the Baron de Palluau who held the post rather quietly until 1653.

One of the more flamboyant early cavalry Mestre de Camp Général was Roger de Rabutin, Comte de Bussy (1618–1693) usually called Bussy-Rabutin. Very brave, somewhat vain and gifted with a brilliant literary mind, he campaigned since his early years and became a lieutenant general in 1645. He was with the royal army during the Fronde revolts and rewarded in 1653 for his services by the prestigious post of Mestre de Camp Général of the army's cavalry, a position that he appears to have managed efficiently. However, his rather witty ways displeased greatly Marshal Turenne who nevertheless seems to have appreciated him as an officer. He was also a cousin of Madame de Sévigné, one of the great literary figures of that era. Bussy-Rabutin was a talented writer too who was found of participating in erotic orgies and authoring risqué texts bordering on scandalous prose. His favourite topic was making fun and describing gallant affairs of aristocrats at the royal court in manuscript texts that were passed around. A brochure of verses regarding the love affair between Louis XIV and Marie Mancini earned him a few months' banishment. He nevertheless went on writing and



Above: Pair of cavalry boots, early eighteenth century, probably French. Boots for heavy line cavalrymen were stoutly made to provide protection to the feet and legs. This pair features iron as well as leather. (Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Millia Davenport and Zipporah Fleisher Fund, 2013 2013.562a–d_S)

Facing page, above: Two cavalry officers officers, 1670s. The one standing has a grey coat with red cuffs and breeches, yellow ribbons at the shoulder and hat, buff shoulder belt. His mounted companion wears an all light buff coat and a buff edged black sword belt. Both have white sashes. Troopers wearing grey coats with red breeches and stockings are foraging in the background. (Print after Marbot. Canadian War Museum, Ottawa. Author's photo)

Facing page, below: Troopers of the cavalry, 1670s. They both wear buff leather coats. One is dressed and equipped for mounted duty and hold his horse which is saddled ***à la Royale***. He has his heavy riding boots while his companion wears stocking with fashionable very wide tops. (Print after Marbot. Canadian War Museum, Ottawa. Author's photo)

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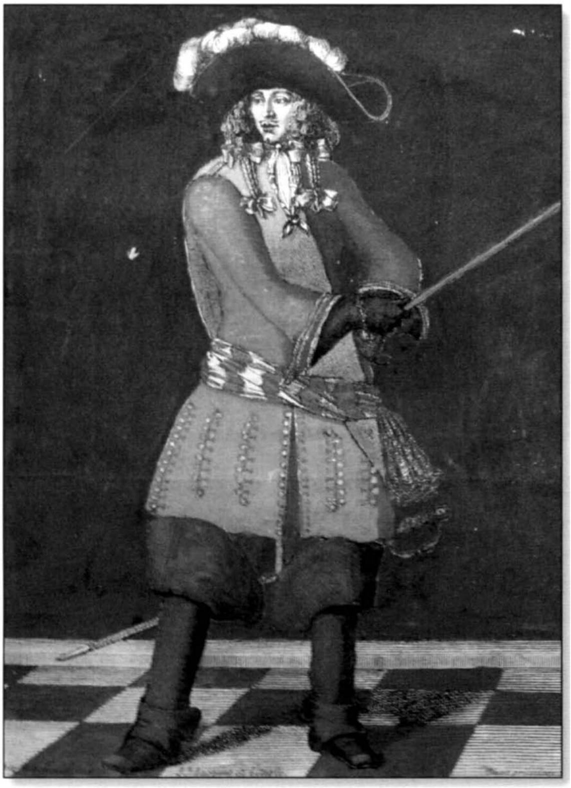
[2] In his efforts to be officially confirmed in the title of Colonel Général, which seem to have been successful enough by 1656 to make Cardinal Mazarin somewhat uneasy, Turenne may have requested, as Susane believed, that the late Duc de Joyeuse's Colonel Général Regiment in Italy be disbanded so there could be no problem that his own regiment would assume the title when he would officially be granted the title and this occurred in April 1657. As for his faith, he did convert to Catholicism, but 10 years later. By then, Mazarin had passed away in 1661.



A gentleman cavalry officer, 1680s. He is armed with a broadsword with a fancy gilded guard and hold his baton, symbolic sign of a command function in seventeenth-century France. Note the wide buff sword belt that was meant to provide some protection. (Contemporary print. Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library, Providence, RI, USA. Author's photo)

his *Histoire amoureuse des Gaules* (love stories of the Gauls) was meant as a secret manuscript book for a few to read about intimate erotic activities at the royal court. Regrettably for him, it came into the hands of a scandalised Madame de La Baume – herself said to be a woman of "notorious immorality" – who had it printed in Holland and then distributed. This was followed by a sequel that Bussy-Rabutin denied having written. It was the last straw for an already very upset Sun King. In April 1665, Bussy-Rabutin was arrested and jailed "for having displeased the King". He finally resigned from his charge of Mestre de Camp Général after Louvois visited him in the Bastille with convincing arguments to do so. Released in April 1666, he was exiled permanently to his estate in Burgundy. It was certainly one of the more unusual demotions to be seen in any army.[3]

On 5 December 1665, the Duc de Coislin became the Mestre de Camp Général and a new regiment bearing that title was formed. There were no further scandalous events and the regiment existed, serving in countless campaigns and battles under that title. From that time, the titles of Colonel Général and Mestre de Camp Général were only honorary, but were nevertheless kept for their prestige amongst cavalry units.

A more recent title was the post of Commissaire Général of Cavalry that was permanently established in 1656, the Marquis d'Esclainvilliers filling the post. According to Bussy-Rabutin who must have been a good reference on this, d'Esclainvilliers was "lost in debauchery, wine and women" when he passed away in December 1656 and was replaced by La Cardonnière, a "creature of Cardinal Mazarin" all of which are statements to take with a grain of salt. D'Esclainvilliers was a brave cavalry officer who had lost a leg in combat and nevertheless led his men mounted with his peg leg; he had been commander of Mazarin's Son Éminence Regiment that probably did not make him too popular because of his association with the much resented cardinal. After some disbandments, the regiment bearing this title became permanent in 1672.

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[3] Readers interested in Bussy-Rabutin's lively gossip might enjoy perusing the six volume *Correspondence de Roger de Rabutin, Comte de Bussy, aves sa famille et ses amis 1666–1693*, Ludovic Lalanne, ed. (Paris: Charpentier, 1859) which has much on the army. He obtained 90,000 écus for the post of Mestre de Camp Général in 1665 from the Duc de Coislin. Much later, in 1691, Bussy-Rabutin was financially insolvent, went to see the King and handed him a memorandum for a pension. Told that the King was not pleased since he had to pay for men who fought the war rather than people who did not serve in the army, Bussy-Rabutin handed him another pension memorandum two days later. The King believed it was the same as handed previously, but Bussy-Rabutin said instead that he withdrew his application since he would rather starve to death than ask him for something to live on in difficult times. Three days later, the Sun King granted a pension of 4,000 livres adding that it was "little for a man like you, but I cannot do more presently." As per *Mémoires du Marquis de Sourches*, Vol. 3, p.478.

The senior cavalry generals during the reign of the Sun King were:

Colonel Général of Cavalry:
Louis-Émmanuel de Valois-Angoulème, Comte d'Alias, 24 January 1638
Louis de Lorraine-Guise, Duc de Joyeuse, 20 July 1653, died in 1654 and Turenne replaced him, but was not officially appointed until 1657.
Henri de La Tour d'Auvergne, Vicomte de Turenne, 23 April 1657
Frédéric-Maurice de La Tour d'Auvergne, Vicomte de Turenne, 24 September 1675
Henri-Louis de La Tour d'Auvergne, Comte d'Évreux, 10 February 1705

Mestre de Camp Général of Cavalry:
Jean, Comte de Gassion, 1641
Baron de Palluau, 1646
Roger de Bussy-Rabutin, 1652
Armand du Cambout, Duc de Coislin, 5 December 1665
Jean-Jacques Chauméjean, Marquis de Fourilles, 22 April 1670
Balthazar de La Cordonnière, 3 May 1677
Joseph de Pons de Guimera, 6 October 1679
Conrad, Marquis de Rosen, 1690
Léonor-François, Marquis de Montpeyroux, 25 March 1703
Charles-François de La Beaume, Duc de La Vallière, 26 February 1714

Commissaire Général of Cavalry:
Timoléon de Séricourt, Marquis d'Esclainvilliers, 25 May 1654, post established permanently established April 1656.
Balthazar de la Cardonnière, 7 February 1657
Nicolas-Auguste de La Baume, Marquis de Montrevel, 22 July 1677
Charles-Louis-Hector, Marquis de Villars, 2 September 1688
Joseph-Ignace-Auguste-Mainfroi-Jérome de Scaglia, Comte de Verrue, 7 July 1703
Charles-François de La Baume, Duc de La Vallière, 17 September 1704
Alexis-Madeleine-Rosalie, Comte de Châtillon, 26 February 1714

Much less prestigious but very useful were administrative staff officers created by Louis XIV in 1694. There was henceforth a Directeur Général and an Inspecteur Général of cavalry.

Line Cavalry Regulations

The line cavalry was a complex organisation to administer and to maintain. It not only involved large numbers of men, but also even larger numbers of horses. Regulations had to be observed if conditions of enlistment were to be met and discipline maintained so as to have a viable mounted arm. In the first two decades of the Sun King's reign, the cavalry was not especially well regulated, but was no worse than such forces elsewhere. In the times of Louis XIII, some cavalry in Sweden and England was better, but improvements in France, notably from adopting Swedish practices, were made in the 1640s regarding largely tactical issues.

Progress came gradually during the 1660s as the King, with his love of order, issued various administrative regulations which gave a certain stability to the line cavalry while, at the same time, Minister of War Louvois sought ways to maintain large numbers of soldiers, including cavalrymen, in the field for long periods of time.

A sampling of orders outlined below give an idea of both the failings and the corrections prescribed on a variety of topics. It would seem that, initially, many officers were very often absent from their regiment when it was posted in a garrison. A royal order of 1 July 1661 specified that at least a third of the officers of each unit would be on duty in a garrison at any one time. One is amazed that only a third seemed to really be needed ...! The troopers in garrisons may have been present, but, when lodged with inhabitants in occupied enemy towns, there could be incidents between them and the townspeople. To lessen this, a royal order of 18 December 1660 forbade troopers to wear their swords if three or more of them went out, and to be back in their quarters at eight in the evening in summer and six in winter. And it was only on 28 October 1666 that the period of enlistment for cavalry troopers was definitely fixed at a minimum of four years. Later on, officers were obviously more with their units, but some of them looked at making a bit of money by having a servant or two pass for a trooper at inspections. Unfortunately for them, officer's servants were considered *passe-volants* at inspections except, declared an order of 22 November 1671, servants of lieutenants provided that were well mounted, well armed and well equipped "like a trooper." Rather discouraging since this exception would be rather difficult with a lieutenant's pay. By these and many more regulations, the French line cavalry left behind its rather "no worries" image for a more professional and organised outlook.

Training and Discipline

The notion to make the line cavalry much better in all regards certainly took hold amongst cavalry officers and troopers in the 1660s and 1670s, especially as, in the campaigns of those decades, the fruits of having a well led, trained and disciplined force were harvested. There was a flurry of publications addressing many of these military issues for the whole army including the line cavalry.

No doubt drawing from his experience of the 1650s and 1660s, the Sieur de Birac's recommendations to officers regarding discipline in his *Fonctions du Capitaine de Cavalerie* can be considered, taking into account it quaint prose, to be one of the best and was still reprinted in the 1690s. After a warning that officers should beware of "braggard" troopers, de Birac stipulated that they should make sure that troopers had their horses and equipment in good order and that they knew how and when to march in ranks and receive orders. They were to take their companies to a field outside their quarters for squadron drills. The men were to be silent and attentive to commands and respect distances between ranks to prevent confusion. The daily training involved various standard manoeuvres such as marching in twos and in fours one day and at a trot the next day. Care was taken not to extend unduly the rights and left of the ranks and, every once in a while, volleys would be shot with carbines or pistols to accustom horses to the sounds of battle along with trumpeter's calls. These daily drill always had to be kept up to maintain efficiency and also to train and incorporate the new recruit troopers to the ways of cavalry.

Another aspect was the "moral" discipline of the troopers. Captains should not tolerate troopers who were "abandoned to debaucheries, such as drunkenness and eating too much, nor to any other illicit and dishonest *voluptés*" that were sure to create "a thousand" divisive issues and quarrels amongst trooper. There was nothing worse than troopers who thought only of "wine and debaucheries" as they would soon "entirely ruin" a company. Officers were therefore to be make sure that their troopers would avoid pillaging on marches, always applying discipline which insured that the men would be content and ready to assume their duties. Discipline, which the Sun King insisted upon, was the keyword and the officers, especially the captains, were to constantly report to senior officers on the state and spirit of their companies.[4]

As seen above, the Sun King was already issuing all sorts of orders since the 1660s and this went on for the rest of his reign. These ranged across multiple topics. A rather strange and immemorial practice was for trumpeters to demand five sols from every windmill they passed by. When the miller refused to pay, troopers might even take his furniture in reprisal and this practice was absolutely forbidden from 1 April 1680. On 1 February 1685 came an order that may have broken some young officers' hearts because it forbade them to marry without the permission of an inspector general. This was due to "several young officers" posted in border areas who "had contracted marriages with low condition girls" that "dishonoured their families". Another order of 5 May 1692 forbade officers to order troopers to dismount so they could mount and ride their horses, to dress their servants in the regimental uniform and furthermore ordered them to apprehend troopers that were marauders.

There can be no doubt that all the measures brought in by the King and Louvois had a good effect on the discipline, efficiency and fighting capacity of the cavalry compared to previous times. Once order reigned and logistical and training challenges were met, larger numbers of cavalrymen could be enlisted to form part of a French army that was no longer counted by many thousands, but by many tens of thousands of troopers.

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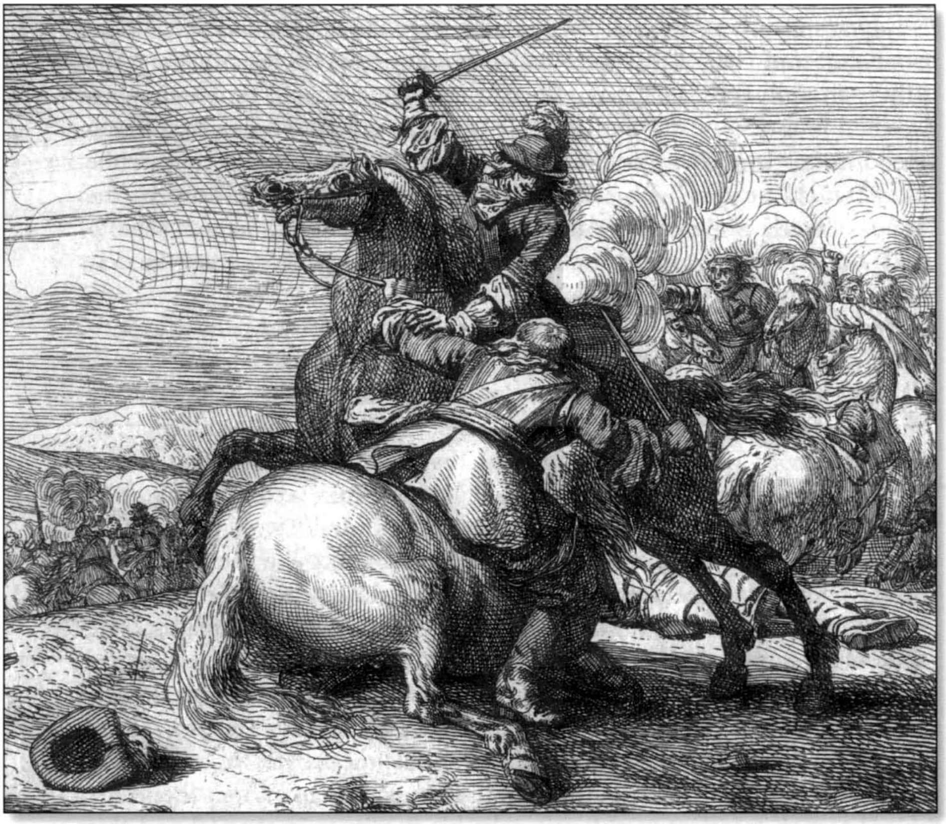
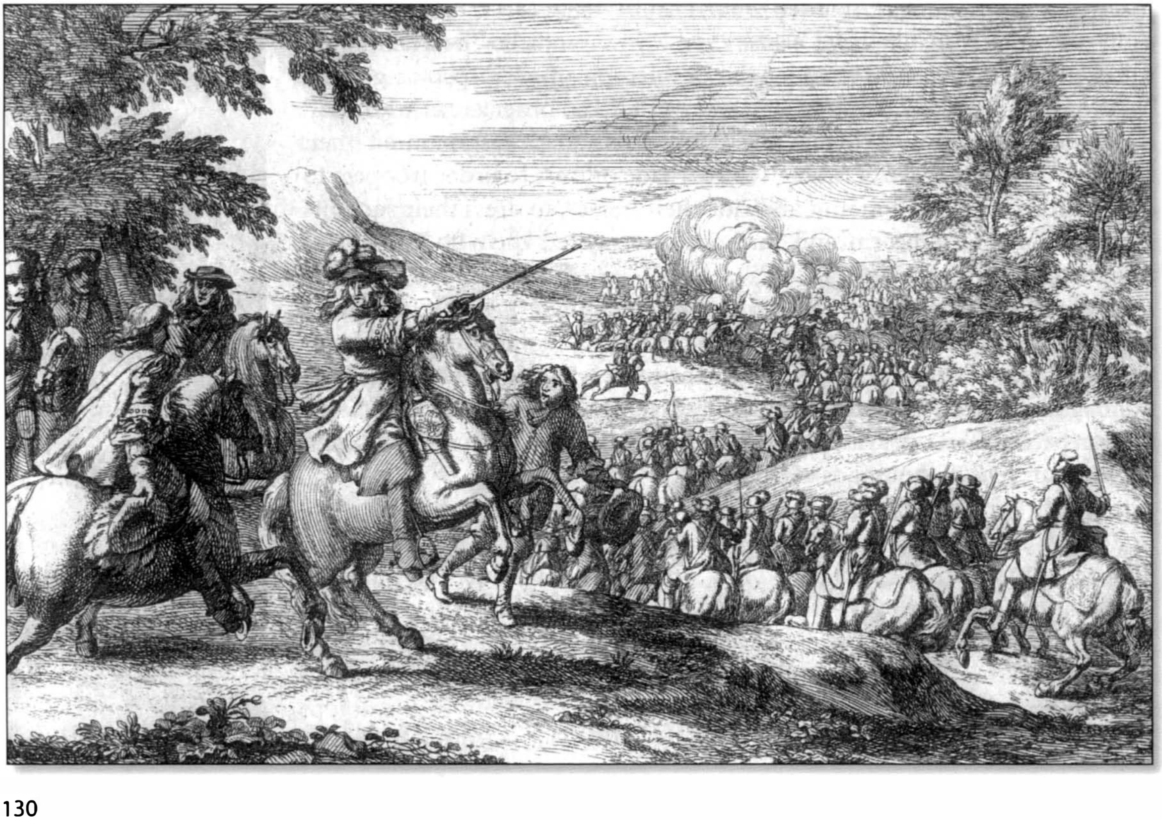
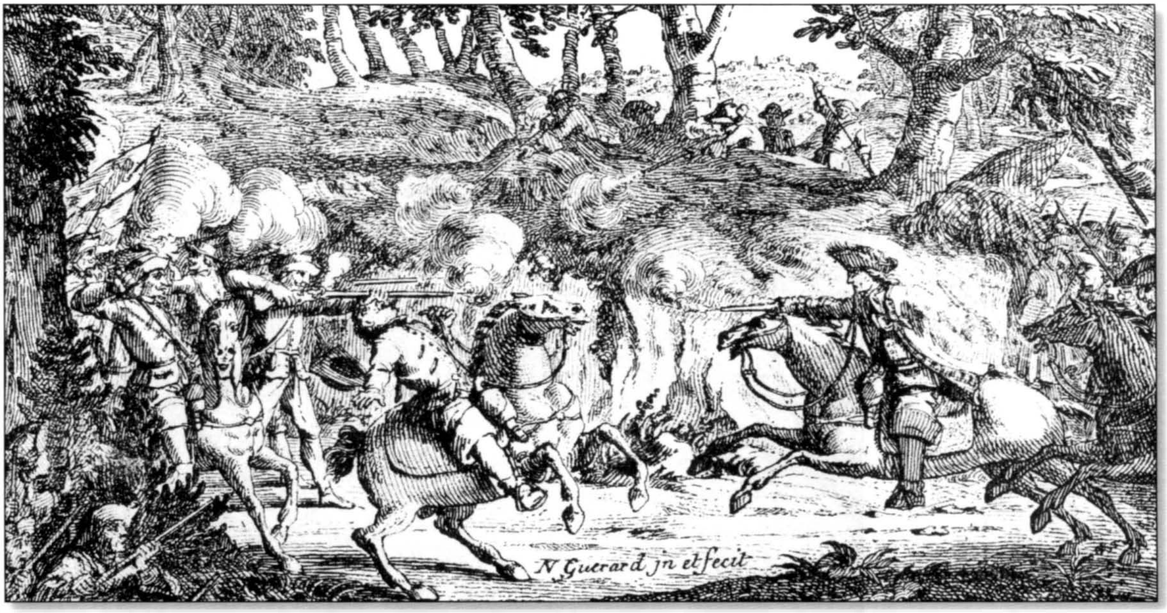
[4] Sieur du Birac, *Les fonctions du capitaine de cavalerie* (Paris, 1669). We have used the La Haye edition of 1693, pp.12–17.



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Above: Embuscade, *c.* 1695. An ambush "is done by infantry or cavalry and sometimes by both under a chief that discreetly leaves a town or a camp even at night chasing for this purpose favourable places such as woods, small hills, low roads that hides them from sight. One of them is always on watch to warn his troops of what he sees. On this report, the commander attacks or remains hidden if the enemy is superior." This print by Guérard shows a French party of cavalry and entry ambushing Spanish troops. (Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library, Providence, RI, USA. Author's photo)

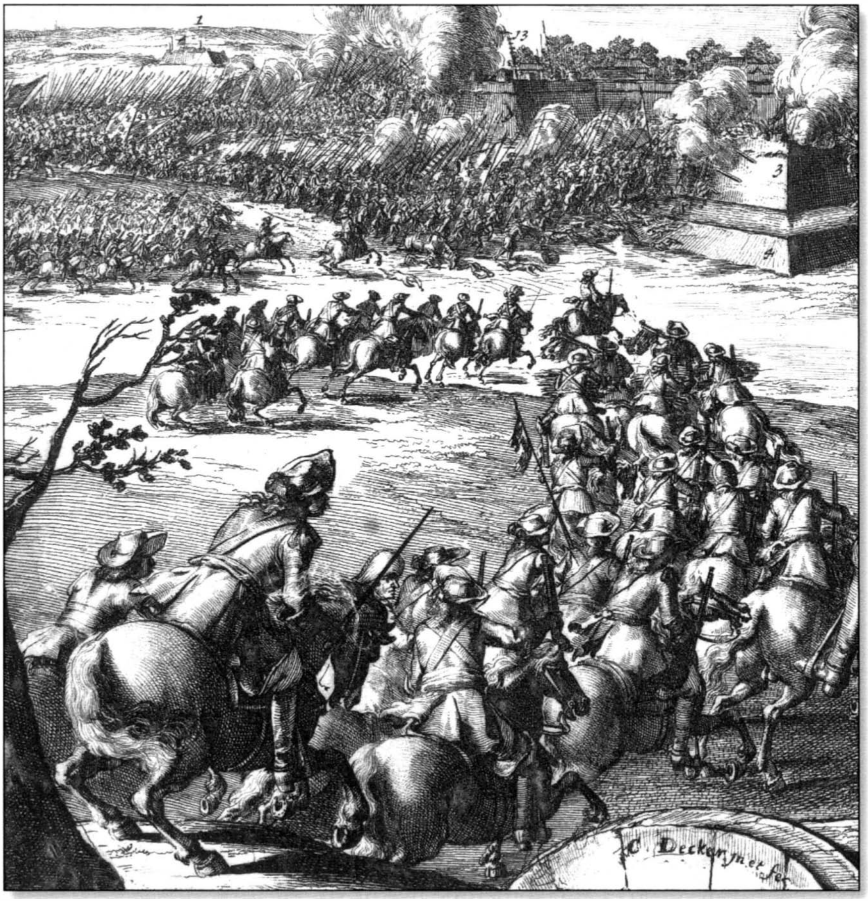
In Combat

An idea of the tactical dispositions of a line cavalry unit in the era of the Sun King is given by a M. de la Fontaine in his 1675 *Devoirs militaires des officiers de cavalerie.* He related that cavalry in battle was lined up in three ranks "and sometimes in four, if we have a strong cavalry [force] and sometime five or six, etc … The conversion is made in front, which is the rank that makes the movement, making *passades*, which is a serpentine movement …" Following this rather obscure description, la Fontaine mentioned that to shoot, one had to "win the hand" meaning to have the enemy at right. The troopers then would "trot and then gallop and, their shooting done, get back to their lines". One could also detach by the right wing and go to the right. Shooting volleys was done by files, but could also be done by ranks.

Operations against enemy cavalry were described by la Fontaine as follows: "Let the enemy advance until he gallops, then move to the right and, when he passes by, open fire; at the same time, charge on its rear." Against infantry, "one must first push back the musketeers to the pikemen and attack the [infantry] squares", described by la Fontaine as follows: "Let the (enemy) musketeers fall back on the pikemen and attack or bastion the squares at their angles, after

Facing page, above: Cavalry battle in hills *c.* 1667. A desperate fight that seems to show a French trooper and an allied cuirassier whose horse collapses. (Print after van der Meulen. Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library, Providence, RI, USA. Author's photo)

Facing page, below: Cavalry going into battle, *c.* 1667–1685. They are shown four per rank who then deploy into a wide line. (Print after van der Meulen. Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library, Providence, RI, USA. Author's photo)



French cavalry at the siege of Aardenburg, late June 1672. This print after C. Decker show a seldom-seen back view of the troopers. Most wear buff coats with cuirasses featuring front and back plate, hats except for one with steel helmet, sashes around the waist and holding carbines. (Courtesy Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-1905-391)

having fired at ten paces from the battalion" while "at the same time holding the sword."[5]

Another factor is what was really meant by a charge of cavalry during the Sun King's reign. A first question was how fast was the charge? A trot as in medieval days, a canter or a gallop? The reader must first evacuate from his mind the cavalry charges full of fast moving horses that are constantly seen since cinema was invented. They look amazing and exciting, especially when film frames are speeded up putting horses at near lightning speed (in which they would collapse in minutes), but it was much slower in the seventeenth century. There was no scientific method or instrument to measure such speeds and one might say that precise observation by the men witnessing a charge at the time was not of primary importance. One had to rely on observations of the *grand trot* (quick trot) and the *grand gallop* (full gallop) to have a general idea of what was happening. The famous Swedish cavalry of the Thirty Years' War was to trot only until at about 50 metres of the enemy so gallop, if chosen, was possible only in the last metres and it probably was a canter-style slow gallop. At Rocroi, it was only the left wing of the cavalry that charged headlong, but elsewhere, La Ferté's troopers were held in check because their horses were out of wind having prematurely charged at the gallop from too far away. Thus, the resort to gallop was a delicate choice for a general as it could influence greatly the outcome of the engagement.

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[5] Quoted from P. de Brye, *Historique du 6e Régiment de Cuirassiers* (n.p., 1893), pp.36–37.

Following the Thirty Years' War and into the so-called Wars of Louis XIV, the resort to "all out" charges was rather timid and it seems to have largely remained so well into the eighteenth century. One reason was the quality of horses. Only the royal guard's cavalry and the Gendarmerie de France had really better horses that allowed sustained galloping charges. For the line cavalry, this was more of a moot point because if some horses were indeed up to it, this was rarely the situation for a whole regiment. In 1701, Marshal Villars recommended only that his cavalry take a "vivacious trot" at 30 steps from the enemy when charging and this appears to have been a general and long-standing rule. Furthermore, what was true in the French army's cavalry was also the case in the opponent armies at the time. The Duke of Marlborough also only authorised a rapid trot for his troopers. And for all armies, besides the capacity of horses, there was the ever lasting worry of commanders that if the cavalry was let loose on a galloping charge, it would likely upset the ranks of the squadron's line reach the enemy pell-mell and thus be weakened, repulsed and even dispersed by a counter-charge. There is a possibility raised that the cavalry abandoned using its firearms from the time of the Dutch War, but that would somewhat contradict manuals such as la Fontaine's and Birac's, still printed in the 1690s, so it seems a moot point, especially as the authorities thought the issue of firearms to cavalry was essential. It may have been more of a case decided by the quality of horses the troopers had; all good mounts hopefully, but most were not thoroughbreds.[6]

The above-described "how to" manoeuvres in battle are now very obscure. They are from an age when horsed formations in battle could decide defeat or victory, such as Condé's charge at Rocroi. Yet these manoeuvres also show that the cavalry's deployment on the battlefield was far from simple and depended on good horsemanship and rigorous training if success over the enemy was to be achieved.

Cavalry Pay and Allowances

The mounted services were more expensive to maintain than the line infantry. Even an ordinary line cavalryman was likely to have in his care more than one horse and many also had a valet – nicknamed popularly a "goujat" to denote a semi-honest knave that was nevertheless faithful to his master – mostly to help with horse care. As ranks rose, so would the number of valets and of horses. As a result, pay and supplies had to be more generous.

Regarding cavalry pay, there were bonuses and deductions for the various ranks that made actual revenues a rather complicated process to appreciate. We give below a sampling of administrative orders. As the pay tended to be

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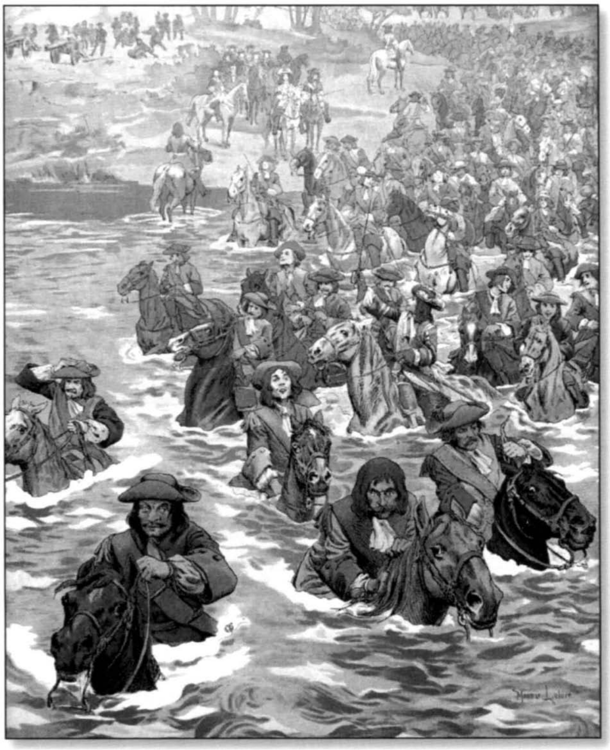
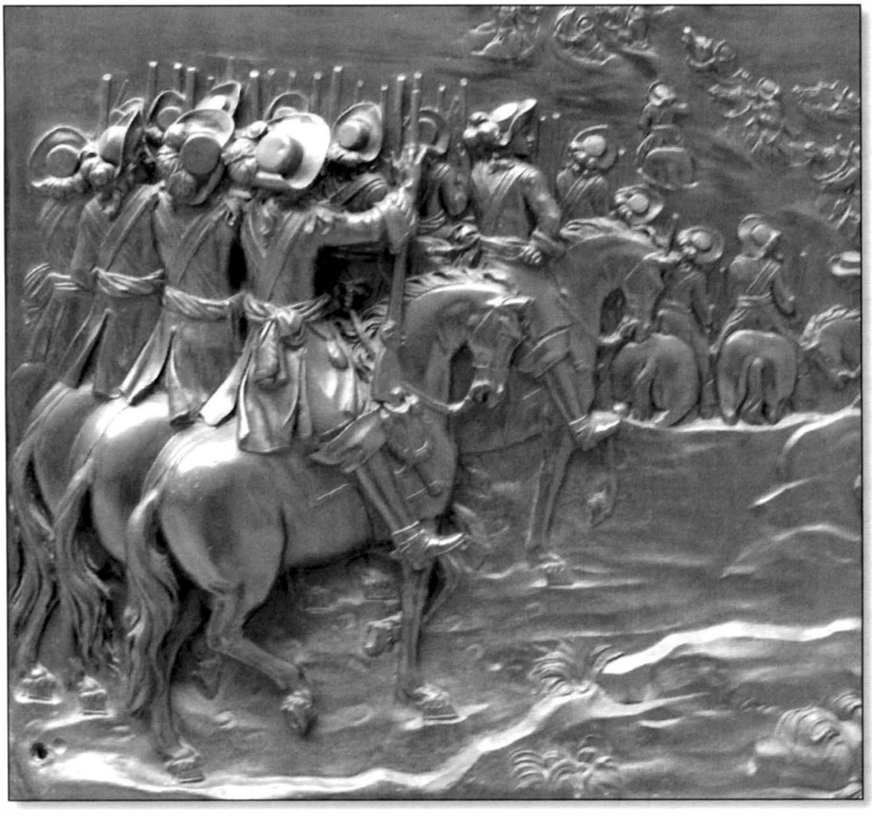
[6] Frédéric Chauviré, 'Le problème de l'allure dans les charges de cavalerie du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle', *Revue historique des armées*, No. 249 (2007), <http://rha.revues.org/553>; Lynn, *Giant of the Grand Siècle*, p.498.



French troopers and their horses fording the Rhine, 1672. This famous instance of cavalry crossing a river was not unique. Maurice Leloir's print gives a good view of what it meant for troopers and their horses, both of which look apprehensive. Drownings were frequent as most men did not know how to swim and even if they did, their heavy boots, waterlogged buff and cloth coats would drag them under the water. (Private collection. Author's photo)



Cavalry troopers of the 1670s to early 1680s. Shown crossing the Rhine into Holland in 1672, the troopers have flintlock carbines whose butts rest upon pistol holsters. They also have a belt for a bullet bag and another for a sword. All have a waist sash, presumably white, for recognition. (Detail from a brass bas-relief by Martin Desjardins. Musée du Louvre, Paris. Author's photo) "quickly wasted" by the troopers, an order of 5 April 1668 specified it was to be paid every 10 days as an advance.[7]

On 1 June 1668, an order established the pay for: captain: 180 livres per month; lieutenant 90 livres per month; cornet: 67 livres per month; *maréchal des logis*: 20 sols per day; trooper and trumpeter: seven sols per day. From 22 August 1668, the NCO rank of brigadier was added and he received nine sols per day. From 1 October 1671, a cornet would henceforth receive 77 livres per month.

On 20 February 1686, an order revealed the pay of regimental staff officers: lieutenant colonel: 50 livres per month (plus his captain's pay); major: 150 livres per month and aide-major: 90 livres per month. We should add that while "Colonels Lieutenant" and even "lieutenant colonel" had occasionally been seen for decades previously, the rank of lieutenant colonel was officially created in February 1686 to be filled by the senior captain. His most important duty was to command the regiment when the mestre de camp was absent. This now official rank was not purchased and allowed the promotion of good and deserving officers who had no great monetary fortunes to higher command including brigadier general and above for the most talented. This order also specified that majors would no longer command companies so they could concentrate on their administrative duties and it also officially created the rank of aide-major.

By 1689–1690, pay in a company of cavalry came to: captain: 150 livres per month; lieutenant 75 livres per month; cornet: 60 livres per month; *maréchal des logis*: 40 livres per month; brigadier: 12 livres per month; carabinier: 13 livres per month; trooper: 10 livres and 10 sols per month and trumpeter: 10 livres and 10 sols per month.

On 10 February 1699, cavalry pay per day was henceforth, for a captain: five livres; lieutenant: 50 sols; *maréchal des logis*: 26 sols eight denier; brigadier: eight sols; trooper seven sols plus forage. The regimental major had five livres per day, the aide-major 50 sols and the chaplain 30 sols.

For cavalry food and drink, an order of 12 November 1665 specified the ration for a trooper and his valets as: four loaves of bread of 12 ounces each, three pints of wine or cider or beer, and three pounds of meat. The *maréchal des logis* had twice these amounts, a cornet had three times, a lieutenant four, a captain six, a lieutenantcolonel and the mestre de camp seven. The quantity of individual rations later decreased. An order of 14 August 1702 defined the daily food rations as follows for a line cavalry trooper: a 36 ounce loaf of bread, two pounds of meat, a pint and a half of wine or a pot and a half of cider or beer. A mestre de camp received 12 rations, a lieutenant colonel six, a major six, an aide-major four, a captain six, a lieutenant four, a cornet three and a chaplain two.

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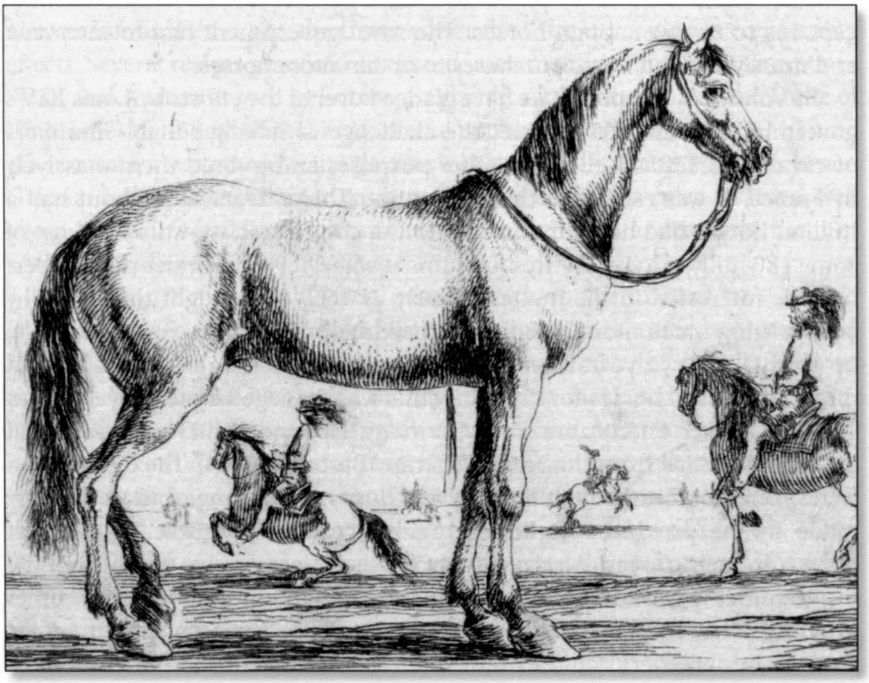
[7] R. Carré de Verneuil, *L'armée en France* (Paris: J. Dumaine, 1880), Vol. 2, p.188; the myriad of bonuses and deductions are explained in detail by Belhomme, *L'Armée française en 1690*, pp.87–91.

13

Line Cavalry Horses, Boots and Saddles

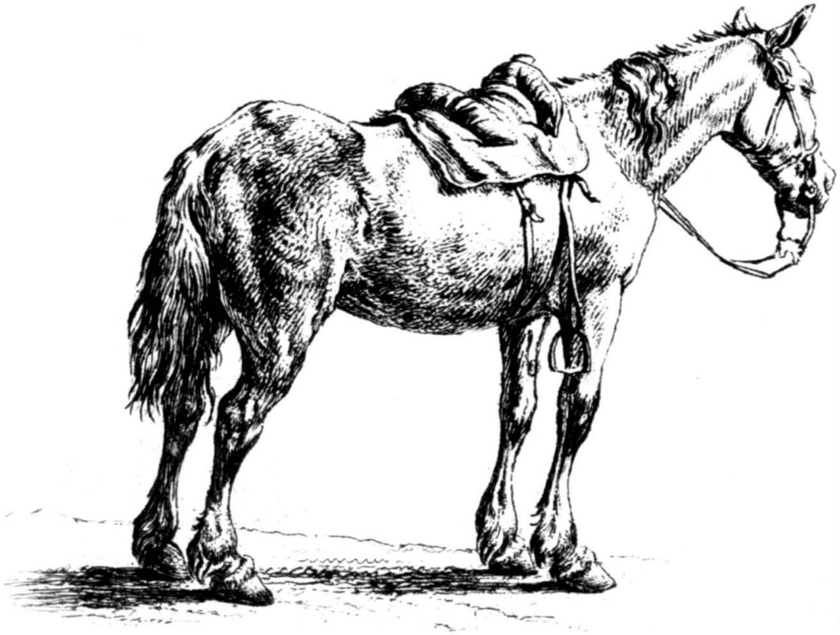
One of the challenges that had to be met for an expanding cavalry force was having enough suitable horses. A trooper had least one horse, NCOs could have three, officers four or more. So the number of horses was at least one and a half the number of men on the establishment with plenty of remounts to compensate for horses that died or were lost. In a wartime year, say during 1707, the cavalry might have need something like over 150,000 horses. But this was not all. The army's need for draught horses for foot troops wagons would have required about 40,000 horses and probably more. A round figure would be that some 200,000 horses were needed for the army to operate that year. Just having remounts to keep numbers up was surely quite a challenge. Furthermore, mares were not suitable for cavalry.

In peacetime, procurement was relatively easy because less horses were necessary and could be distributed over many months. Things were totally different in wartime. When, after a campaign, regiments arrived in winter quarters, they immediately needed many new horses to remount and complete their establishment. To prevent a great rise in the prices of horses, provincial intendants were advised, as early as the month of June, of how many squadrons would be spending winter quarters in their province. Intendants would first decide where they would be quartered and then calculate the likely number of horses necessary to remount the companies. There were standards to be met. In 1680, line cavalry horses had to be four feet four inches to four feet six inches high (old French measure equivalent: 1,408 mm). In 1687, these heights were lowered by two inches due to shortages and also because of much higher prices demanded by dealers for tall horses. Horse dealers of the province were met by the intendant and his officials to fix an average price for horses and how many would likely be needed. Once this was agreed to, the information was communicated to the units when they arrived in the late autumn. The captains were free to contact these horse dealers or make their own arrangements. During the War of the Spanish Successions, the great rise in the numbers of regiments combined with epidemics that caused the death of many horses made it impossible for



Above: A French cavalry officer's horse, mid seventeenth century. This thoroughbred horse was the type sought by officers who could afford them. They were fine mounts for all occasions and, as shown in the smaller background figures, were the best for elaborate dressage exercises. (Print after Stefano della Bella. Courtesy Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. RP-P-OB-34.987)

Below: Common cavalry horse, mid seventeenth century, This fairly ordinary horse is not of a great breed, but certainly a very sturdy mount. (Print after Philips Wouwerman. (Courtesy Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-1901-A-22287)



captains to obtain enough horses. The royal government had to intervene and massively fund horse purchases to obtain more horses.[1]

In Volume 2, Chapter 7, we have glanced over at the efforts by Louis XIV's government from 1665 to meet the challenge of having suitable numbers of cavalry horses as well as for other purposes and to bred them massively in France. It was estimated that during the Thirty Years' War about half a million horses had been imported into the country, at an estimated cost of some 180 million livres. With such sums at stake, it is no wonder that Colbert became interested in the matter as early as 1663 and sought to solve it by encouraging much more breeding in the kingdom by taking measures to set up stud farms two years later. It was done by abolishing certain taxes and distributing stud horses for breeding; this was managed by the royal stables. The stud horses often came from Germany, Holland and Denmark as well as some Arabians from the North African "Barbary Coast". The distribution went from Picardie through Brittany and down to Saintonge, but was mainly made in the provinces of Poitou, Saintonge and Auvergne. The largest horse-producing areas, Alsace and Lorraine, did not receive much from the programme; it was aimed at creating and strengthening breeding in other provinces. The new stud farms were not then state run farms, but to enjoy the benefits, breeders had to conform to certain standards.[2]

Of the breeding already going on in France, there had evolved the great Percheron horse, one of its most famous types. It had Arabian origins going back to the crusades when knights brought back home some horses from the Holy Land. This sturdy grey horse made a fine draught horse also suitable for heavy cavalry as well as being "easily the handsomest of all heavy breeds" according to a British observer. More were needed and there could be crosses with the black-coated Nivernais horses.[3]

Horsemanship

At the other end of the scale, the Sun King's interest in horses was to have very positive long-term effects in the breeding of French thoroughbred horses. There had been predecessors since the eleventh-century *Règlement des Tournois* that was really the first work on such topics as manoeuvring in a closed field as a practice for battlefields and how to stage a good tournament. Others followed and, by the Renaissance, the *Haute École* defined highly schooled and elaborate horsemanship dressage practised in several countries, which greatly benefited cavalry in battle. Just the sight by infantrymen of horses doing such movements as the *Levade*, the *Croupade* or the *Capriole* could have unsettling effects. Several realms practised advanced horsemanship, notably Italian states, Spain and Austria as well as France. England came forth too and the Duke of Newcastle's method had much effect when published in France in 1657 joining other masters such as Antoine de Pluvinel de la Baume and M. de la Broue. Guignard also had a chapter concerning the "necessary rules to learn well about horses", to saddle them properly "to their liking, and to cure them of several maladies that they have."[4]

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[1] P. de Brye, *Historique du 6e Régiment de Cuirassiers* (n.p., 1893), p.75.

[2] Denis Bogros, 'Les chevaux de la Cavalerie française à la fin du XVIIe siècle', *Histoire, économie et société*, XV, 1996, pp.105–109. Bogros also opines that Alsace and Lorraine were bypassed because although under French governance, they were not quite dynastically as much part of France as other provinces. We feel this is something of a moot point, but is certainly another factor to consider.

[3] Lady Wentworth, 'The World's Horse' in *The Book of the Horse*, Brian Vesey-Fitzgerald, ed. (London: Nicholson & Watson, 1946), pp.37, 84–85. Lady Wentworth, who wrote the first part of this book, was a renowned authority on breeding, horsemanship and racing.

Interest in horsemanship was passionate in the gentry led by the King who, during the 1660s, held lavish tournaments as elaborate mounted spectacles with such themes as battles of ancient times. Jacques de Solleysel published his *Parfait Mareschal* in 1664 that was much reprinted thereafter. Horsemanship had become a highly complex and admirable discipline by itself that led to the creation of several state institutions that still exist today. In France, the town of Saumur had a long tradition of horse schooling and it went on with the creation of its academy during the reign of Louis XV. The princely family of Condé at Chantilly was also a leader in fine horsemanship and breeding.

Yet another spin-off was the advent, largely thanks to English influence, of well-organised racing with the Sun King leading the way. This occurred especially from 1681 when a racetrack "in the English style" was built on the plain of Achère near the chateau of Saint-Germain-en-Laye and a meeting held there. It had, at its centre, an "amphitheatre" built so that the King and his suite, would easily see the whole racecourse. The start of a race was signalled by raising a flag. The course was marked by equidistant poles, one having a flag that indicated the finish line. The first three horses to cross it were winners in that order. That year, the Sun King is said to have started thoroughbred horse racing in France with offering a plate worth 1,000 pistoles. An English thoroughbred won and the King offered to buy it "for its weight in gold" which the owner refused, but offered the horse as a gift "which ended in an exchange of *beaux gestes* on both sides" according to Lady Wentworth. It appears to have been at that time that jockeys appeared wearing livery jackets. At the 1683 race meeting, the King put up 1,000 Louis d'or as a prize as well as a "table of bracelets worth 10,000 livres" that was awarded to a Mr Howard, one of several Englishmen who had come with their thoroughbred horses. The racing judges on that occasion were the dukes of Luxembourg, d'Aumont and de Gramont revealing these marshals of France to have been obviously excellent horsemen with a passion for thoroughbred horse racing. All this had a very positive effect in the French cavalry with racing being organised in many of its camps. For cavalry officers of a certain standing, all the above racing activity resulted in their horses being amongst the best thoroughbreds anywhere. They were good as hunters, jumped in steeplechases, had the best manners on parade and were ideal chargers in battle.[5]

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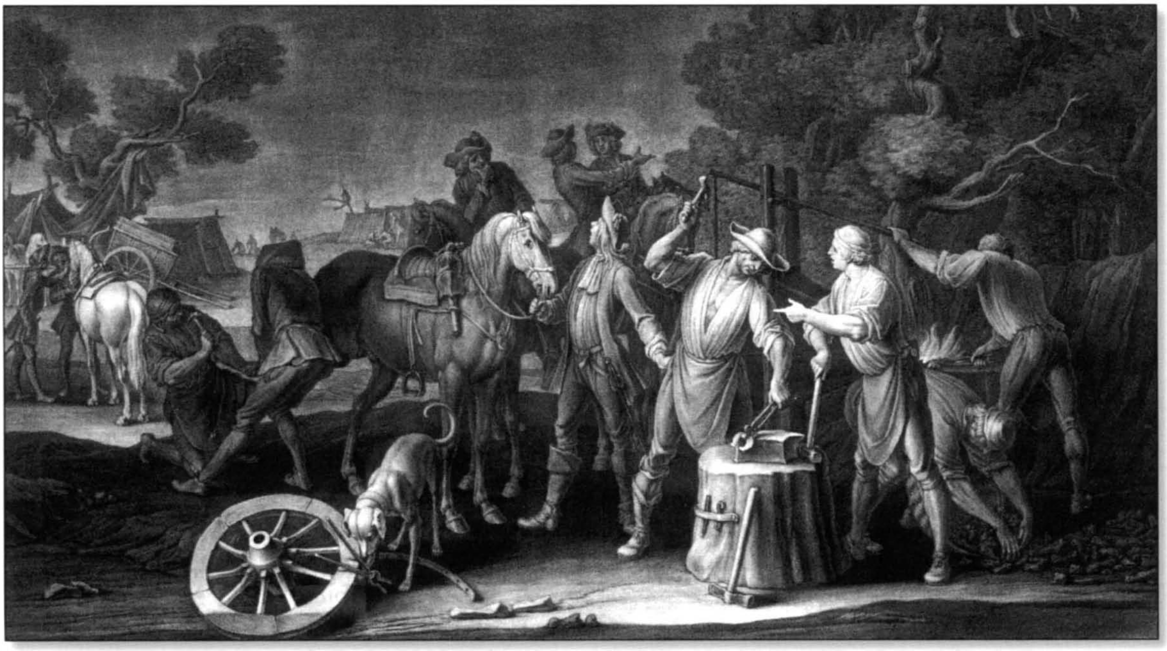
[4] James J. Pearce, 'Haute École' in *The Book of the Horse*, pp.184–188; L. Picard, *Origines de l'École de cavalerie et de ses traditions équestres* (Saumur: Milon Fils, n.d. [*c.* 1860]), pp.3–47; P. Mussot, *Commentaires historiques et élémentaires sur l'équitation et la cavalerie* (Paris: Librairie Militaire, 1854), pp.2–35; Guignard, *L'École de Mars*, Vol. 2, pp.61–85; Henri Choppin, *L'Équitation militaire au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1902), pp.3–15.

Overall, while the number of horses bred in France was obviously greatly increased, it was still not enough to meet the demand for basic cavalry horses. Many had to be imported from Germany and the Netherlands by Jewish horse merchants at Metz through a network of contacts in those countries.[6]



A blacksmith in a cavalry camp making horseshoes, *c.* 1695. One the most essential aspect of keeping a cavalry horse fit was that it always be properly shod. (Courtesy Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library, Providence, RI, USA)

Horse Health

How the horses were, was a constant concern. In January 1668 for instance, the Comte de Duras was reporting that not only had he seen hundreds of men sick at their winter quarters at Oudenarde, but that out of 800 cavalry horses "who were the leanest I have ever seen and not half of them could perform a great run except those of the Gendarmes who are in very good shape".[7]

A major epidemic affecting horses appears to have broken out in Flanders during early 1705. By April, the King's government did not plan to furnish anymore over the numbers agreed to remount the regiments. It was reported to the minister from Brussels that "all possible steps had been taken not to mix the newly [arrived] horses with the old ones" and that perhaps if "the cavalry [horses] were put out to grass, it might make the disease cease entirely". A dispatch concerning Sheldon's (Irish) Cavalry Regiment further mentioned that 28 of its horses had died between an inspection in March and the end of April, which was certainly far too many.[8]

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[5] Lady Wentworth, 'The World's Horse' in *The Book of the Horse*, pp.84–85; *Mercure Galant*, March 1683, pp.214–221.

[6] Bogros, 'Les chevaux de la Cavalerie française à la fin du XVIIe siècle', p.111

[7] AG, A1, 224, Duras to Louvois, 4 January 1668.

Sick horses were frequent and the veterinary arts were then very basic. During the 1680s, the inspector of the King's *Grande Écurie* (Great Stable), Jean de Saunier, successfully treated its horses and his son Gaspard (1663–1749), also passionate about horses, was noticed by the Dauphin and other senior officers who needed a good horse-master on campaign. As a result he was attached to their personal staff, and from 1688 took part in many campaigns. Like his father he found some cures to counter sickness in horses, notably with the French cavalry in Italy until 1706. His "recipes" to cure horses mixed empirical observations with more traditional practices, which must have been those practised in army horses. His posthumous *L'Art de la cavalerie* had sections on the care and proper riding of war horses.[9]

Of course, epidemics know no borders for all living men or beasts. The report of April 1705 mentioned that not only were the Spanish cavalry horses allied to the French affected by sickness but also the horses of the enemy British cavalry as well. On the whole however, most horses appear to have been in tolerable or good health and some regiments stood out in all regards. For instance, in April 1705, Rosen's (German) Cavalry Regiment in the French army in Flanders was reported to have been "complete in men and horses, well armed, clothed and equipped and in better condition than any of the others inspected."[10]

Foraging

All European cavalry depended on foraging when part of an army deployed in the field. It consisted of parties of cavalrymen that would spread over the countryside to gather forage for the horses. The area's farmers that were subjected to this practice were to be compensated by the company's captain at the rate of up to five livres a day. In the bad old days before the advent of Louvois, when the army's pay was anything but regular, foraging nevertheless had to be done if the cavalry horses were to subsist and it often amounted to pillaging the unfortunate peasants nearby.

Once back in camp with the forage, it was divided up according to rank. An order of 12 November 1665 outlined that a trooper's forage allowance for two horses to be 20 pounds of hay and four *mesures* of oat for each. A *maréchal des logis* had twice these amounts, a cornet three times, a lieutenant four, a captain six, a lieutenant-colonel "when there is one" six,

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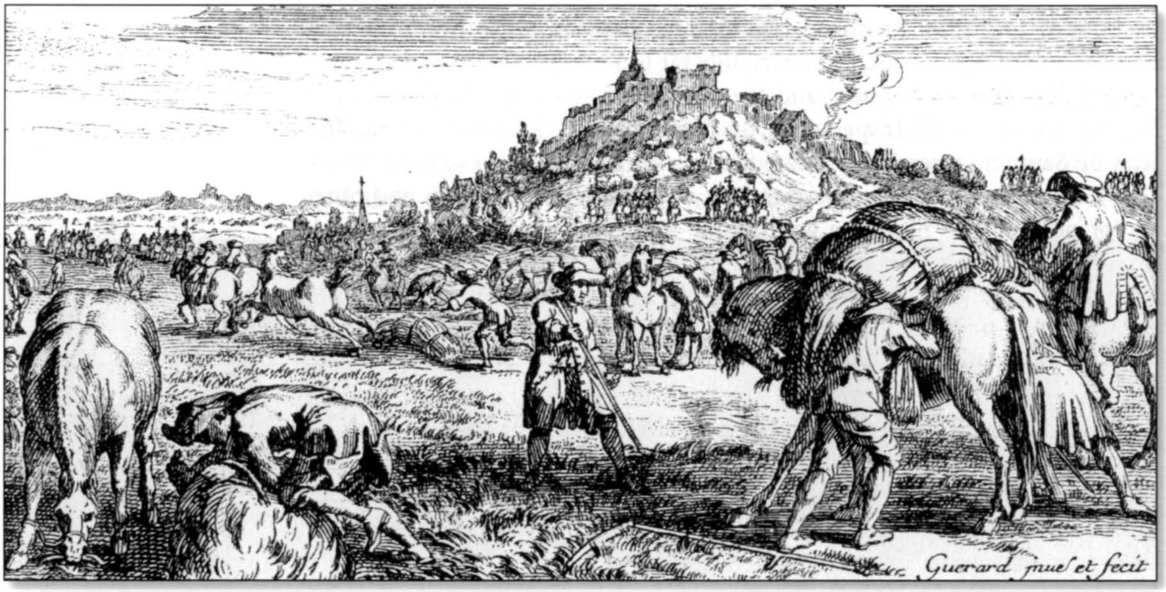
[8] AG, A1, 1834, M. de Fonternon to Minister, 25 April 1705. He also mentioned that three or four Spanish cavalry regiments in Flanders were even more affected. M. de Rendegens to Minister, 30 April 1705 regarding Sheldon's. This volume contains many other dispatches concerning this epidemic, the cause of which was unknown.

[9] Picard, *Origines de l'École de cavalerie et de ses traditions équestres*, pp.191–202.

[10] AG, A1, 1896, Marshal Rosen to Minister, 8 April 1705. Marshal Rosen was reporting on the favourable inspection of the regiment belonging his son thus having the same name by General De Soutenon. It was led by Lieutenant Colonel Comte de Honnolstein. It was raised as Rosen in 1671, became Rottemberg in 1682, Rosen again in 1696 and again Rottemberg in 1709.



Fourageurs, c. 1695. A foraging party. The caption of this print after Guérard reads: "When one goes foraging, detachments of cavalry and sometimes of infantry to guard the foragers when they cut down the herbs that they gather into bundles held by four cords each that they next put on a horse helping each other after which mount over their bundles and return to camp in files making several columns." (Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library, Providence, RI, USA. Author's photo)

and the mestre de camp seven. This gives an idea of the number of horses each cavalryman could have. The forage allowance, however, could vary. By November 1667 when cavalry was going into winter quarters, Louvois had previously changed this forage ration to 12 pounds of hay when he brought it up to 15 with five pounds of straw instead of eight and three *picotins* of oats. By and order of 15 October 1671, the trooper's forage allowance was now 18 pounds of hay, seven pounds of straw were added and three *picotins* of oats. From 15 October 1684, the regulation amount of forage for a trooper was 20 pounds of hay and a *boisseau* of oats, a *maréchal des logis* had twice this amount, a cornet three times, a lieutenant four, a captain six, a major 10 and the mestre de camp 12 (which included their issue as captains).[11]

Marshal Turenne, perhaps the only great commander that really had a clear idea of what the tactical role of cavalry could be, believed that armies should be relatively small numbering, say, 30,000 men, half of them to be cavalry. To have more made it impossible to fed all the men and horses. This was true enough until the early 1670s when Louvois managed to organise a supply system that could keep much larger armies in the field although it must be noted that their cavalry portion might not exceed by much Turenne's recommendations.

Naturally foraging continued unabated in the following decades, but compensation would have better chances of being paid to farmers although one can imagine that when their keen peasant's eyes spotted cavalry troopers approaching, they were not necessarily filled with joy at the prospect. In enemy territory, such chances became slimmer for their farmers. This legal pillage was common to all cavalrymen of that era, not just the French, but the Sun King's troopers were nearly always operating on enemy soil.

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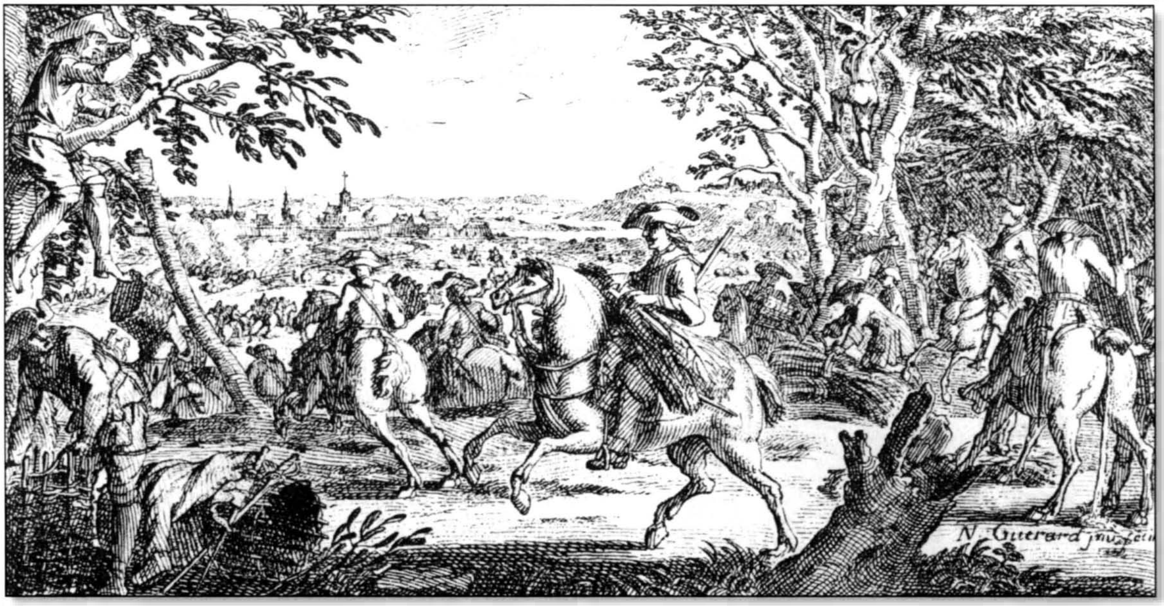
[11] AG, A1, 208, Louvois to de Lorges, 14 November 1667.



Cavalerie aux facines, c. 1695. During sieges, fascines were needed to fill ditches and other operations. Cavalry was called upon to take the basket-like fascines from the wooded areas where infantrymen had made them to the siege trenches. (Print after Guérard. Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library, Providence, RI, USA. Author's photo)

Foraging also went hand in hand with winter quarters and, in peacetime, summer camps. In an era when shipping over roads was a long, tedious and expensive process, it was best to quarter cavalry units in areas where forage was easily available so that horses could be fed on the spot. Cavalry units were therefore quartered in small groups in several villages according to the number of horses that could be fed. The farmers were compensated for freely providing forage by a reduction of five sols per ration of the onerous *taille* tax their village had to pay. In peacetime, cavalry units took their summer quarters in areas that had good forage. From 1685 to 1688 inclusive, the northern cavalry camp was spread along the valleys of the Lys, Escault and Scarped rivers, another camp was at the Saar River and yet another at the Ardour River while the largest was the camp at the Saône River. The forage cut down by the cavalry was compensated at the many villages concerned to a price agreed by the intendant or his delegate and three village leaders. Then as now, manure was valuable as fertiliser for the land. When cavalry units were lodged with inhabitants in outlying villages for about 150 days during winter quarters, the manure was given to their farmer hosts. If the cavalrymen were quartered in fortresses, which was uncommon, the manure was turned over to the town major who could sell it to round out his income.

Birac had recommendations that were certainly applicable to foraging parties. He mentioned that some troopers, once they had dismounted, would tie their horses "to some picket" and leaving them there, "go into houses searching to find food and drink for themselves" or else "falling asleep, not recalling their horse nor feeding it, which is very blameable and never happens to an honest and brave trooper". Naturally, the slovenly troopers were to be corrected.[12]

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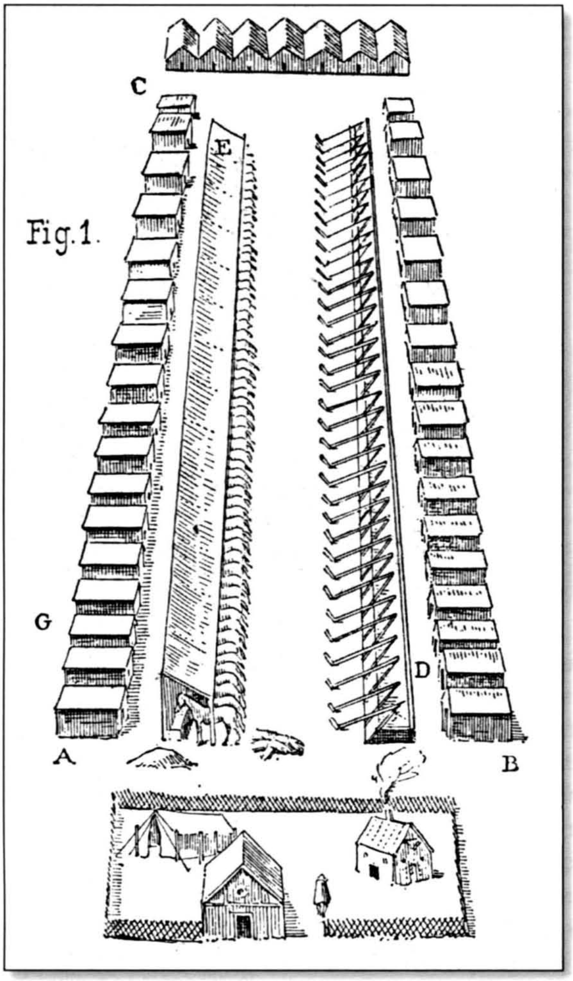
[12] Birac, *Les fonctions du capitaine de cavalerie*. p.13.



Layout of a cavalry regiment's camp, 1670s. (Print after Mallet. Private collection. Author's photo)

Not all cavalrymen were honest troopers in winter quarters. One Courtet du Vaut was a trooper in the Villeroi Cavalry Regiment that, in the winter of 1709–1710, was quartered in Nevers and its area, not very far from du Vaut's native small town of Clamecy, a salt-producing community. With some comrades, he organised there a *faux-saunage* network illegally selling salt without levying the hated "Gabelle" tax. The royal revenue from Clamecy went down and this was explained to Receiver General of Finances Desmaretz by an official at Clamecy. It was then found that du Vaut had been caught by the Maréchaussée of Vézelay (near Clamecy) in 1702 for multiple robberies and condemned to death, but had escaped and now reappeared as a Villeroi trooper with his friends. The logical end to this incident no doubt came with du Vaut's arrest and finishing his knave's days at the end of a rope or rowing in a galley. It reveals that troopers foraging were not supervised too closely in winter, but wrongdoings could have dire consequences when troopers of the Maréchaussée armed constabulary cavalry, also a part of the army, arrived to enforce the Sun King's laws.[13]

Finally, we mention a rather extreme case of foraging. In December 1709, the Cuirassiers du Roi Regiment was in its winter quarters, its companies lodging in villages of Franche-Comté while its senior officers were at Versailles or elsewhere. The little village of Preigney hosted Courtade's company whose only officer present was Cornet Montrelet. Several troopers, having learned that a large convoy of wine would cross the area, quietly left the village fully armed and, on 17 December, took over the convoy under pretext that its wine was contraband merchandise. Having tasted it, they found it quite good and took the 24 wagons loaded with 30 large casks pulled by 110 horses to Preigney. The company kept some wine for itself and gave the rest to the villagers. Cornet Montrelet obviously turned a blind eye and all perhaps looked forward to winter evenings drinking good wine.

The wine merchant, one Sieur Pinot (it actually was his real name), then arrived at Preigney bearing all legal documents proving the wine to be legally transported to which Cornet Montrelet responded that the wine could be returned on payment of 30 livres to each trooper of his company. An outraged Pinot now went to Besançon and put the case before the intendant

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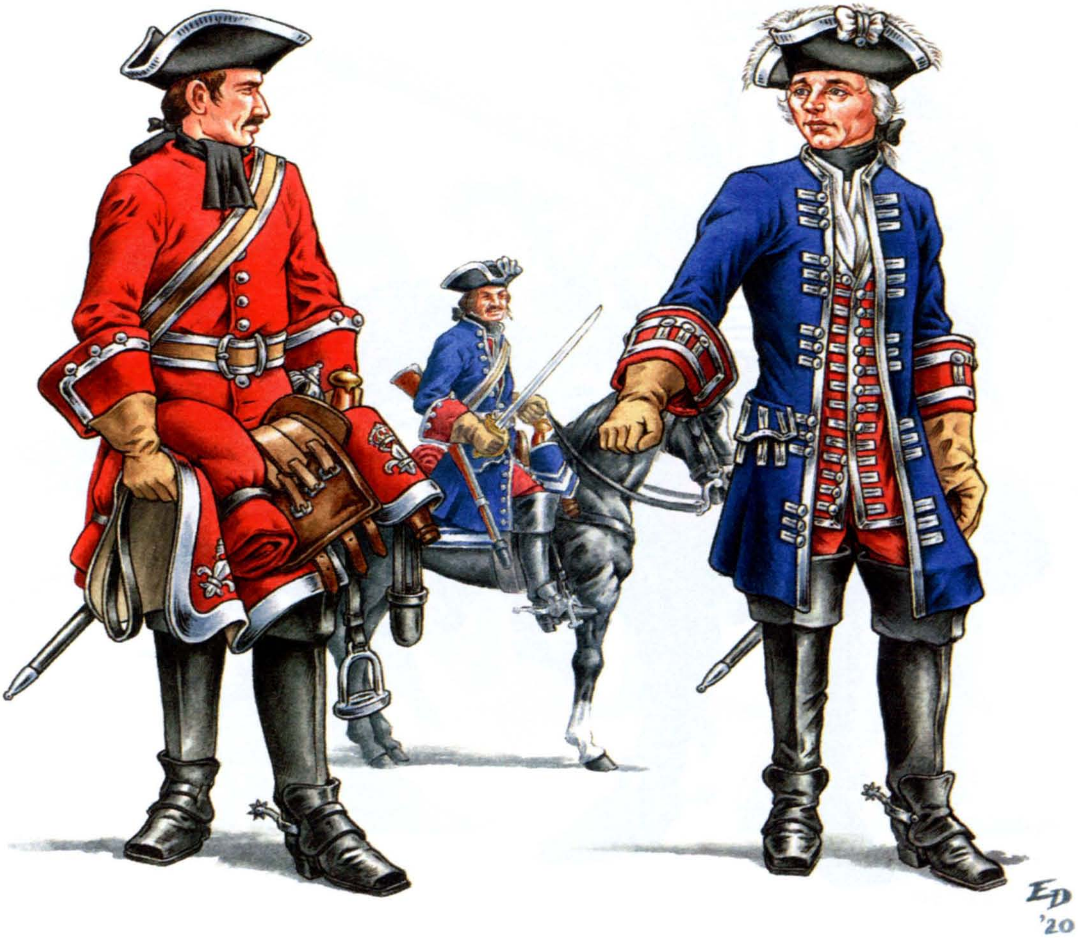
[13] Albert Mirot, 'Au temps du racolage et de la milice', *Bulletin de la Société scientifique et artistique de Clamecy*, Vol. 67 (1943), pp.65–66. Trooper du Vaut and his comrades must have terrorised the salt warehouse's keeper to operate successfully. In five weeks, more than 30 loads of salt had disappeared.

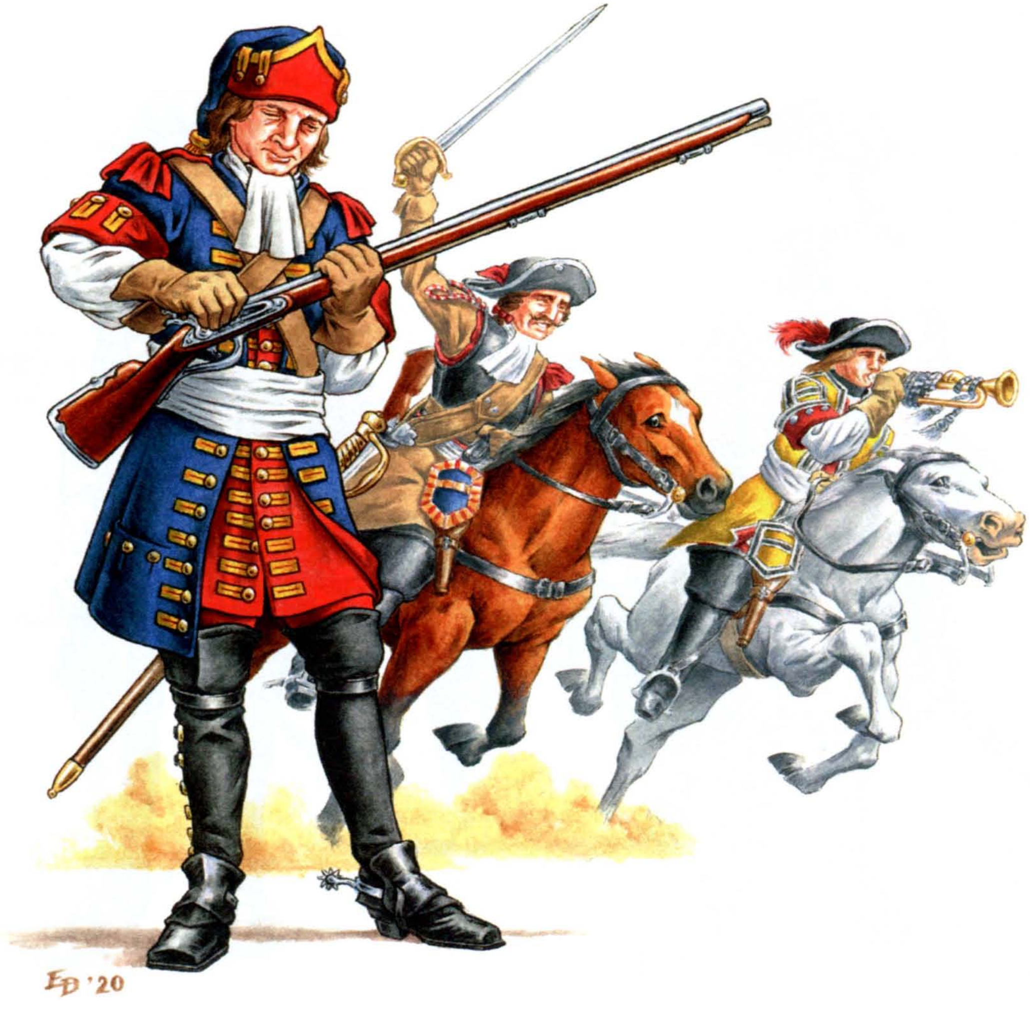
Plate 1



Gendarmerie de France, Compagnie Écossaise, trooper, early eighteenth century; Carabiniers du Roi, early eighteenth century; Carabiniers du Roi, officer, early eighteenth century

(Illustration by Ed Dovey, © Helion & Company)

See Colour Plate Commentaries for further information.

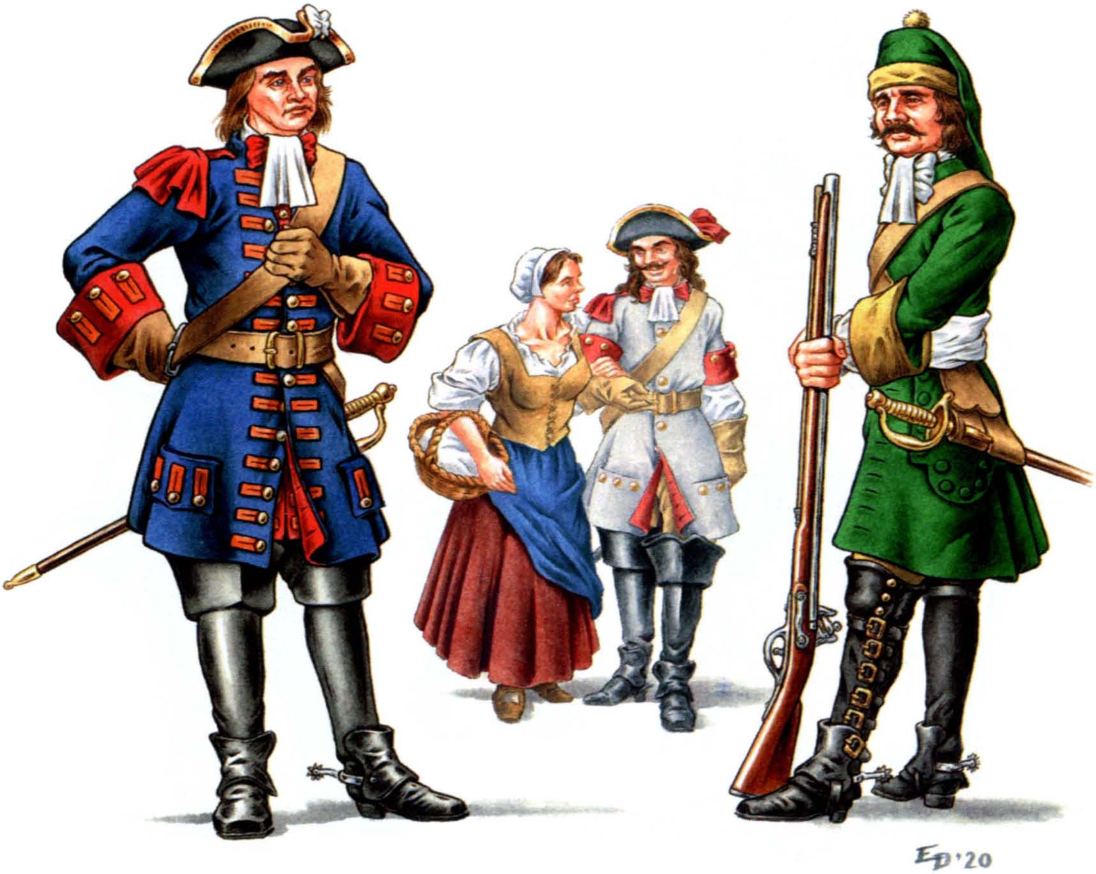


Dragoon, Royal-Dragons Regiment, 1660s and 1670s; Trooper, line cavalry Regiment, 1660–1670s; Trumpeter, Humières' Cavalry Regiment, 1665–1675

(Illustration by Ed Dovey, © Helion & Company)

See Colour Plate Commentaries for further information.

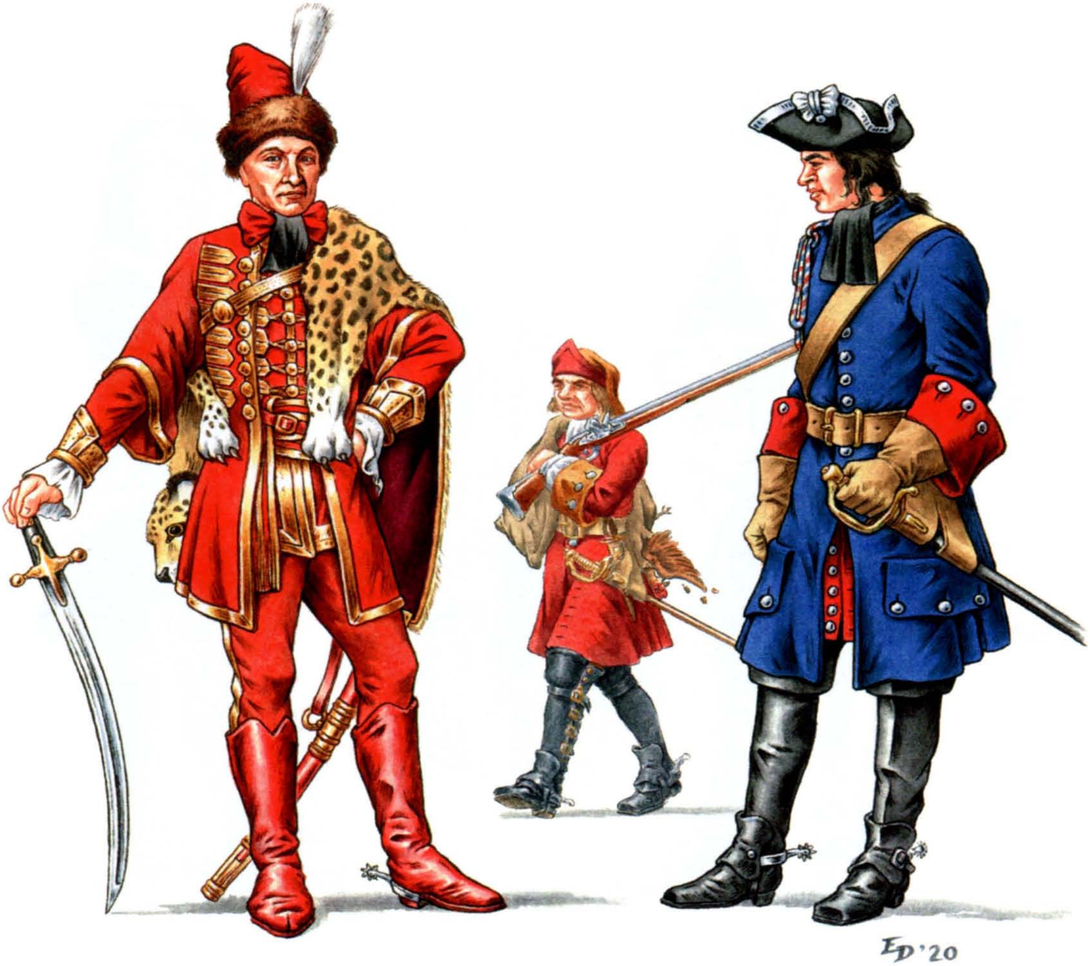
Plate 3



Trooper, Berry Cavalry Regiment, late seventeenth century; Trooper, Crillon's Cavalry Regiment, 1680s; Dragoon, Fimarcon's Dragoon Regiment, 1680s

(Illustration by Ed Dovey, © Helion & Company)

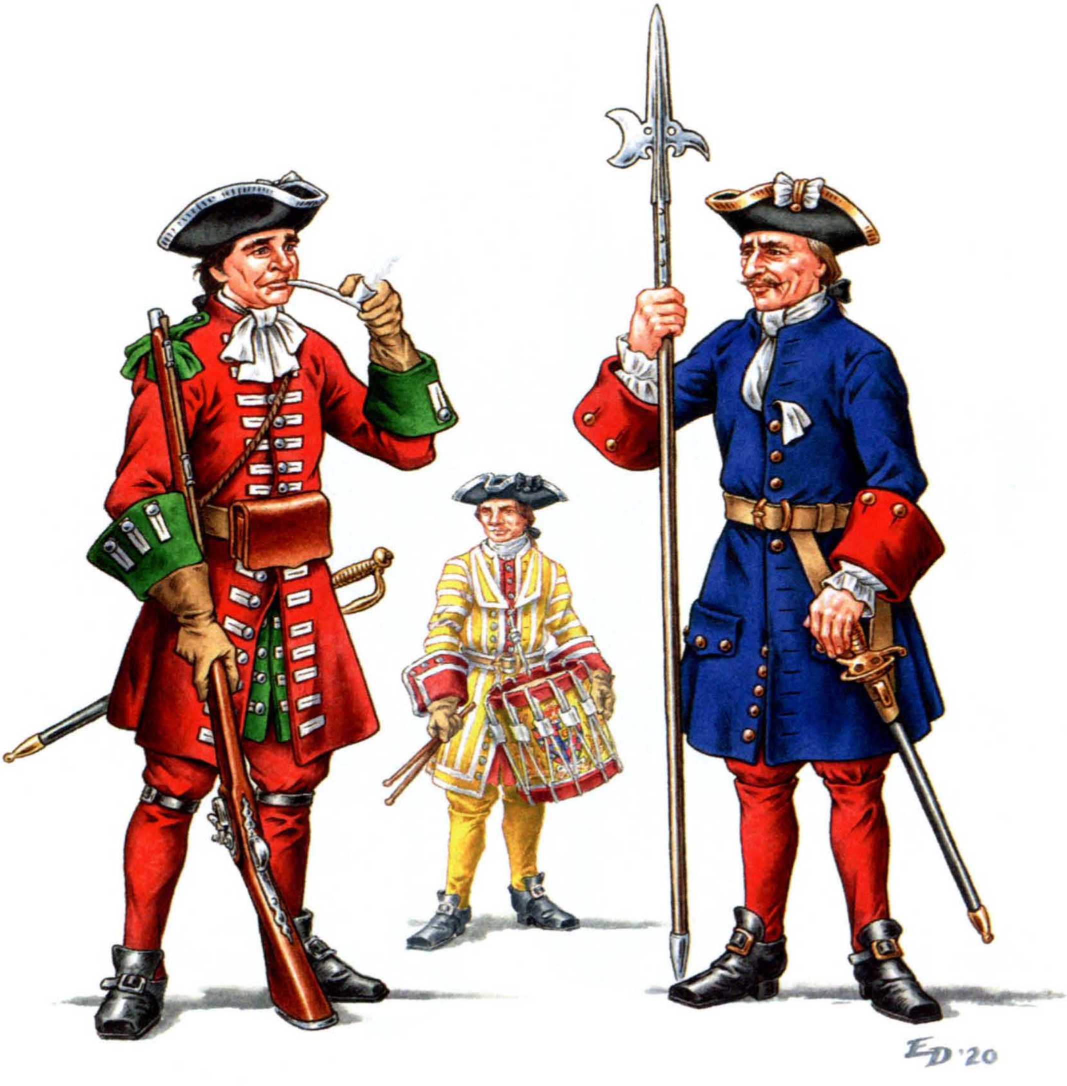
See Colour Plate Commentaries for further information.



Officer, Mortany's Hussars, *c.* 1705; Dragoon, Aubigné's Dragoon Regiment, 1702–1706; Trooper, Bourgogne Cavalry Regiment, early eighteenth century

(Illustration by Ed Dovey, © Helion & Company)

See Colour Plate Commentaries for further information.

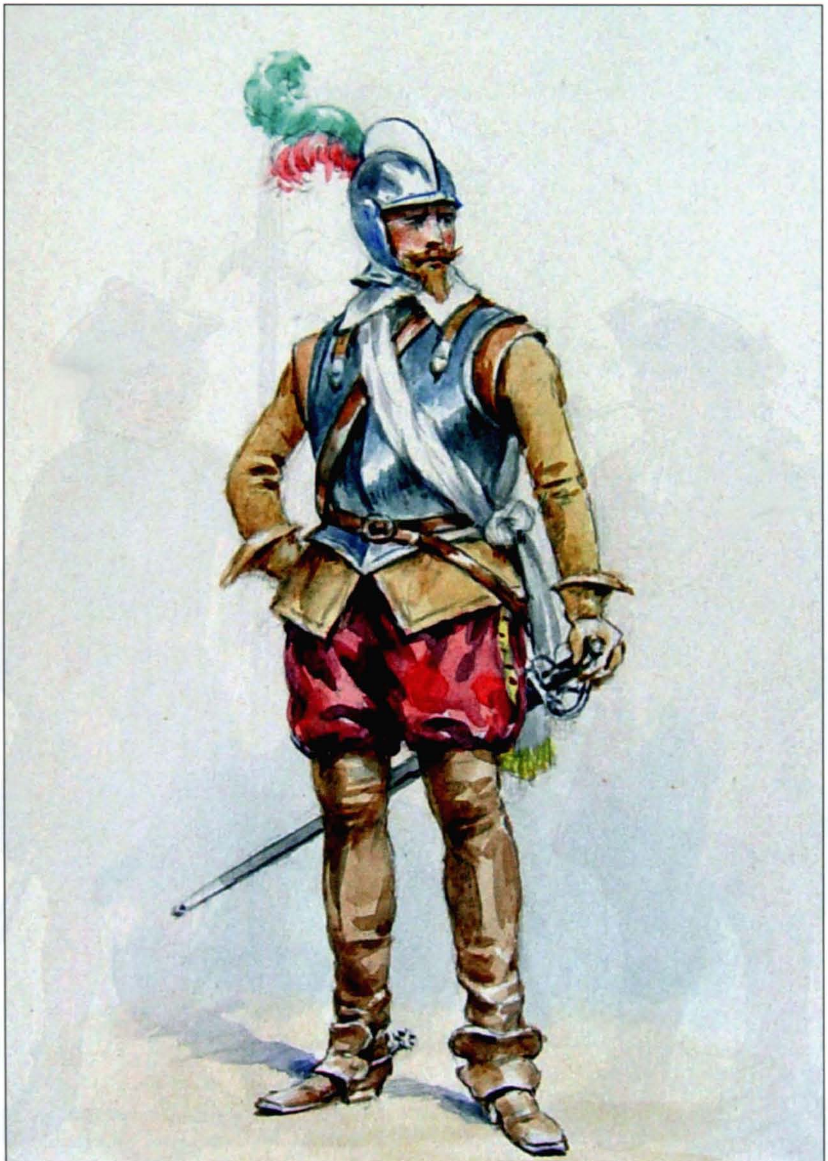


Private, Lee's Irish Regiment, 1698; Drummer, Berwick's Irish Regiment, *c.* 1699–1703; Sergeant, Galmoy's Irish Regiment, *c.* 1708

(Illustration by Ed Dovey, © Helion & Company)

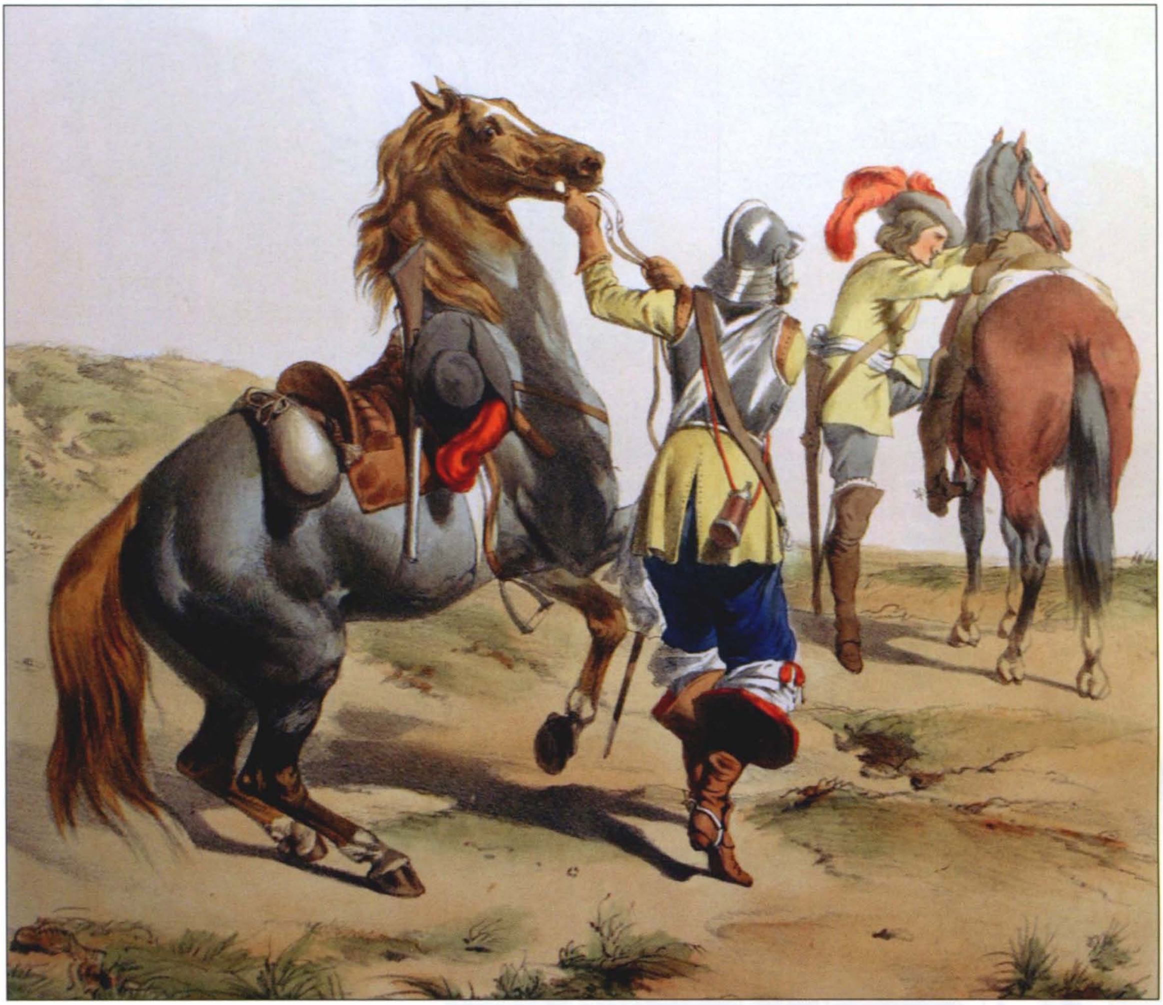
See Colour Plate Commentaries for further information.

Plate 6



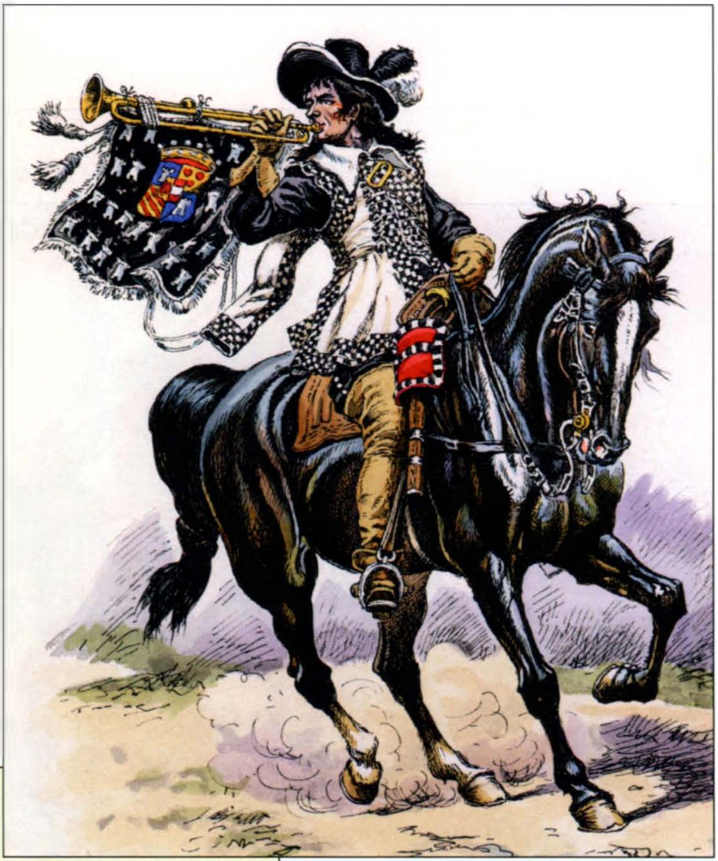
Cavalry trooper, mid seventeenth century. He wears the typical costume and armour of a well-equipped cavalrymen at the time when Louis XIV was a child: a buff coat, a cuirass and a helmet for protection. The main weapon is the broadsword. The white shoulder sash identifies its wearer as a French soldier. (Watercolour by Eugène Titeu. Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library, Providence, RI, USA. Author's photo)

Plate 7

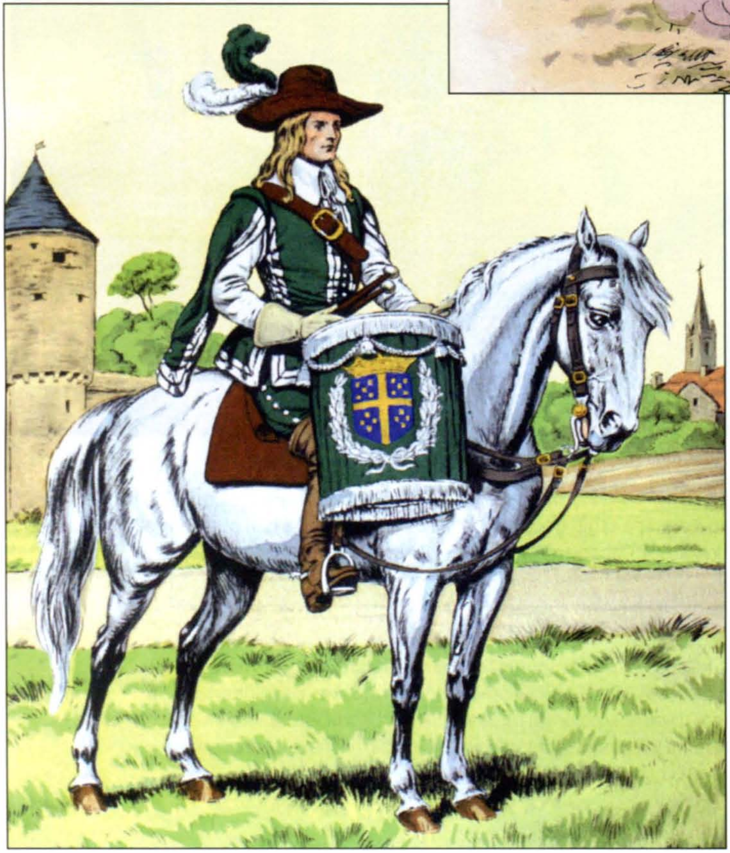


Cavalry troopers, mid seventeenth century. The trooper wearing a cuirass over his buff coat is seen from the back. The helmet types varied and his has a lobster-style back to protect the neck. The other trooper just has a buff coat and a hat, but many also had a steel scull cap beneath. (Print after Marbot. Canadian War Museum, Ottawa. Author's photo)

Plate 8

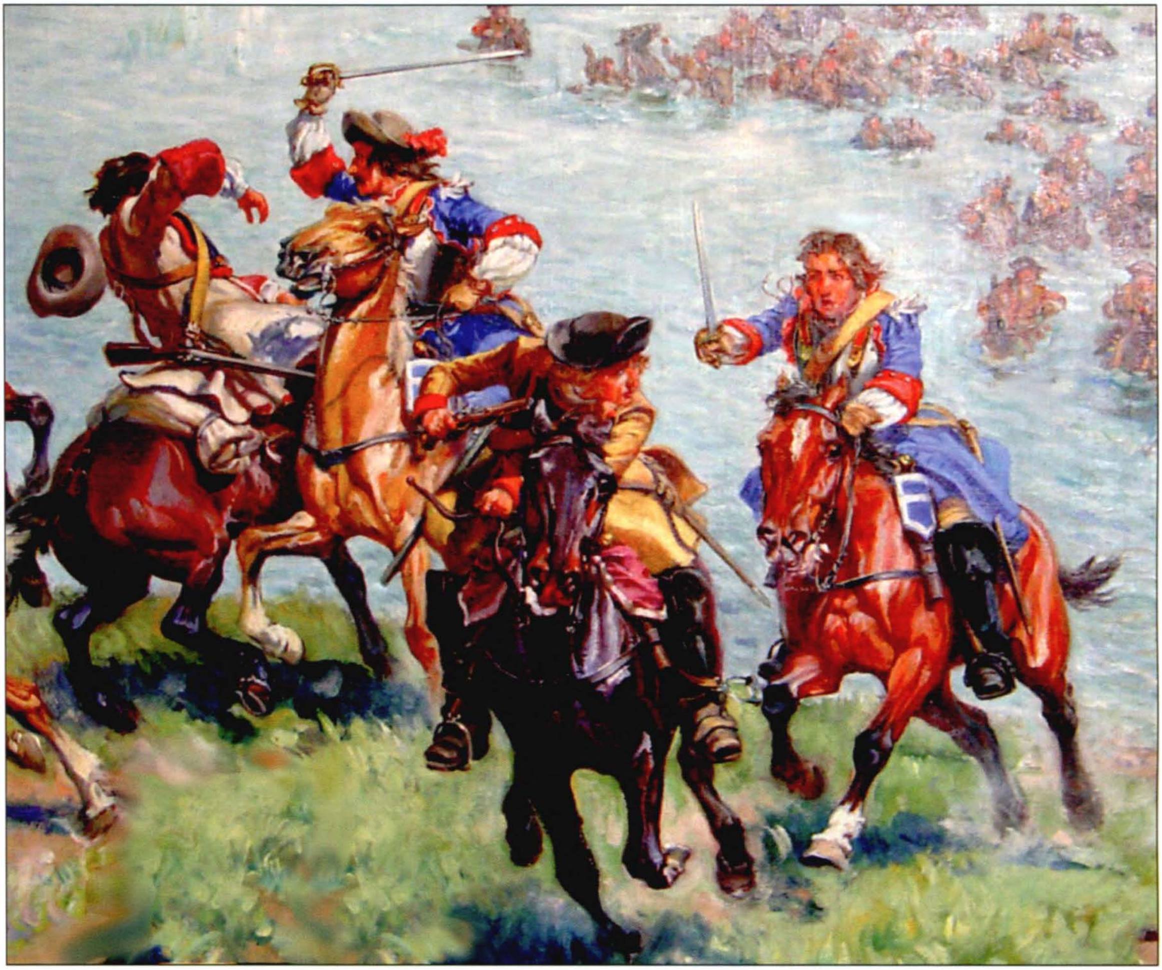


Right: Trumpeter of the Turenne Cavalry Regiment, 1651–1657. This was the famous marshal's own regiment and the trumpeter wears Turenne's white and black livery, livery lace and trumpet banner with his coat of arms. In 1657, its name changed to Colonel General following Marshal Turenne's appointment to that post. (Print after Pierre Benigny. Private collection. Author's photo)



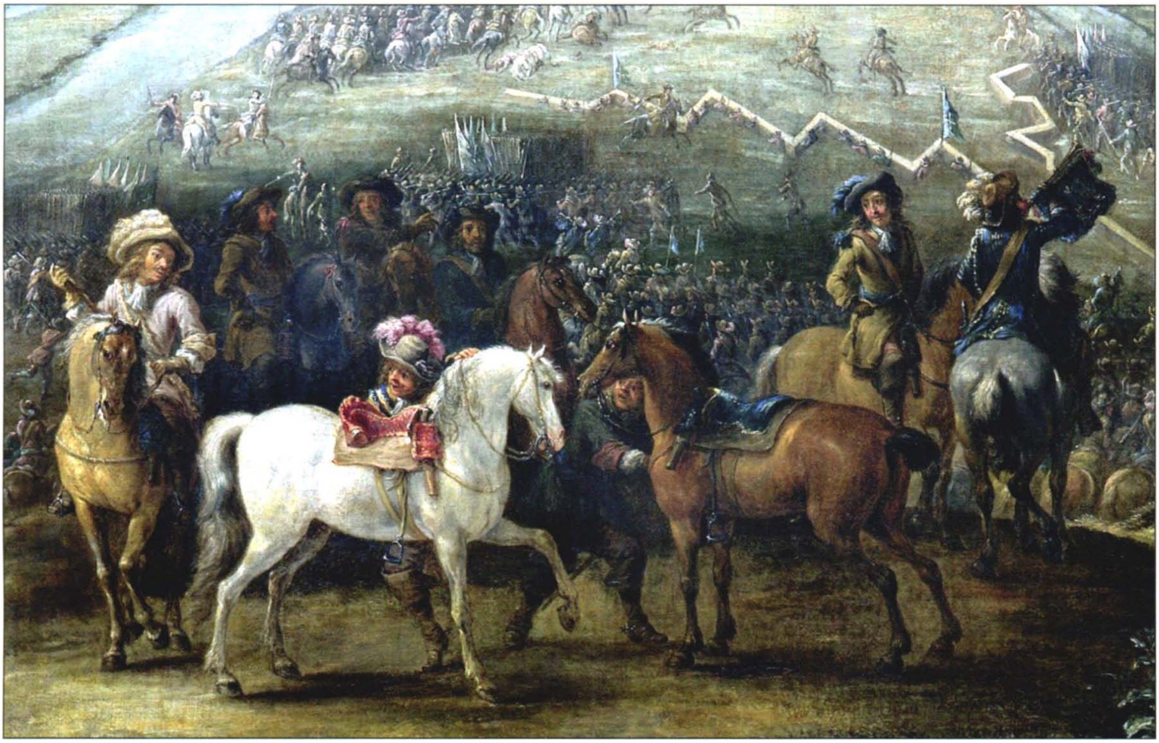
Left: Kettledrummer of the Praslin Cavalry Regiment, 1640s. Formed on 24 January 1638 by Roger de Choiseul, Marquis de Praslin, this regiment is said to have been the first in the French army to have a kettledrummer, which became very popular in many of Louis XIV's cavalry units. He is shown wearing the Praslin livery of green and white and its coat of arms on the drum banners, which were usually of the livery colour. (Print after J.E. Hilpert. Private collection. Author's photo)

Plate 9



Troopers of the Cuirassiers du Roi Regiment gain a footing on the eastern shore of the Rhine on 11 June 1672. The 1672 ***Mercure Galant*** mentions that three squadrons of opposing cavalry could not stop the French vanguard and were soon driven off by reinforcements of French cavalry. (Detail from a painting by Eugène Lelièpvre. Private collection. Author's photo)

Plate 10



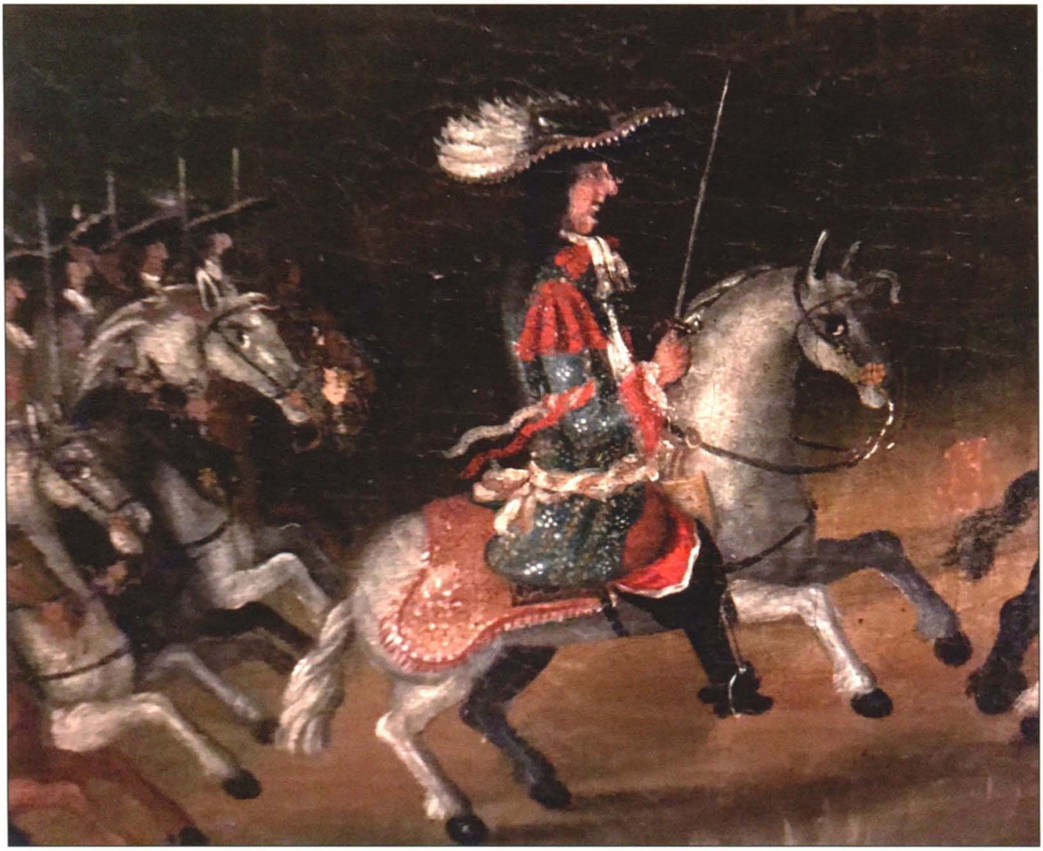


Plate 11

Facing page, bove: French cavalry and senior officers at siege of Rheijnberg, 6 June 1672. The senior officers appear to be at the foreground, the one at the left seemingly holding a general's command baton. The cavalrymen behind them wear mostly buff coats with blue ribbons and hat plumes, the trumpeter having the blue royal livery. (Detail from a period painting by Lambert de Hondt (II). Courtesy Rijkmuseum, Amsterdam. SK-A-4663)

Facing page, below: French cavalry officer charging with his troopers, 1672. This anonymous contemporary painting of the French futile assault on Aardenburg shows cavalry dressed in grey coats with red shoulder knots led by this officer in a well-decorated blue coat lined with red. (Amsterdam Museum, Amsterdam. Author's photo)

Below: Cavalry charging enemy infantry at the 1674 battle of Senef. The troopers belong to a royal regiment wearing blue coats with red shoulder ribbons, white sashes, wide brown bandoleers edged red, gold laced hats with white and red plumes. (Detail of a mural by Jacques Friquet de Vauroze made in 1677–1678 on the wall of the dining hall at Les Invalides in Paris. Author's photo)

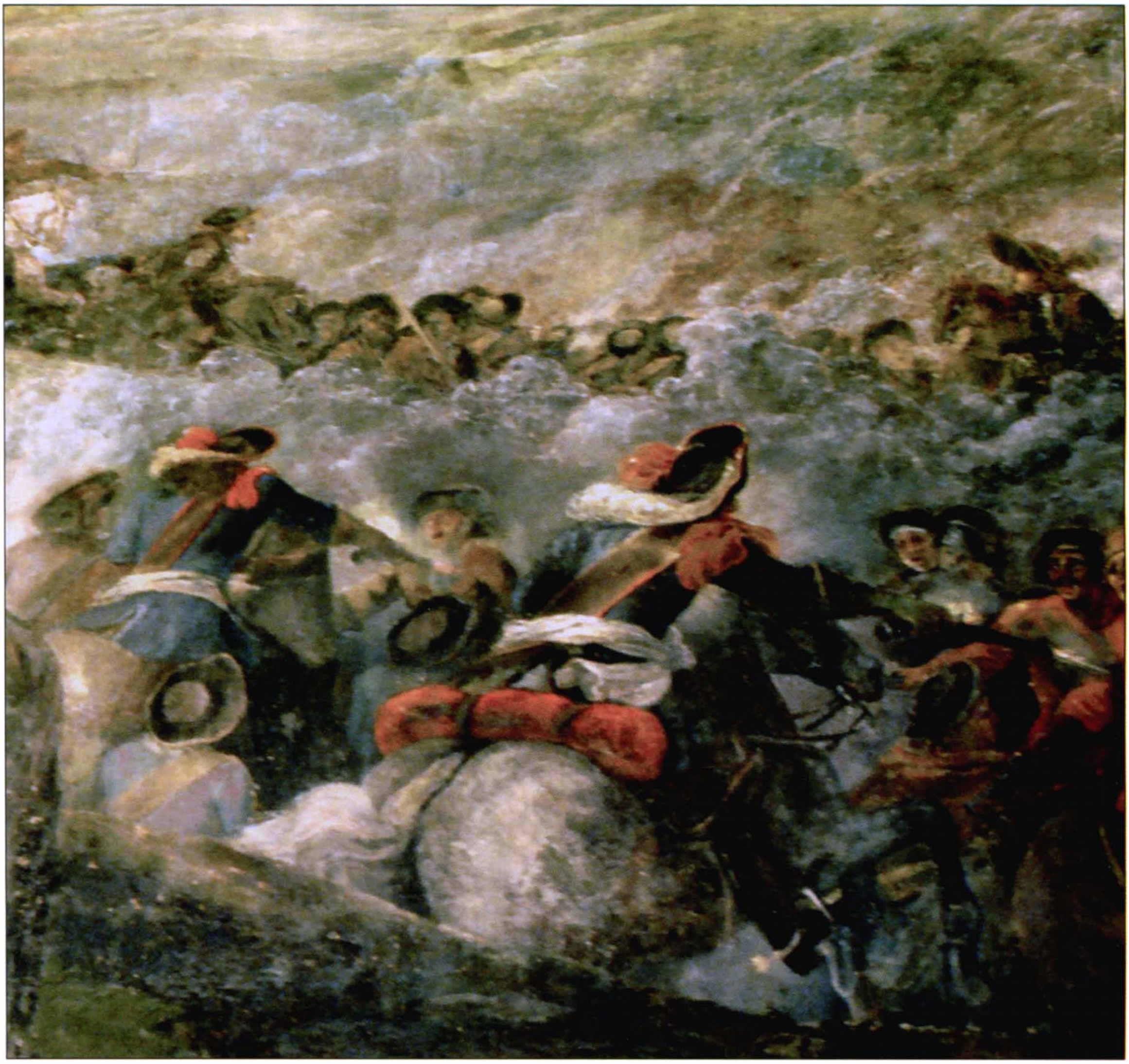
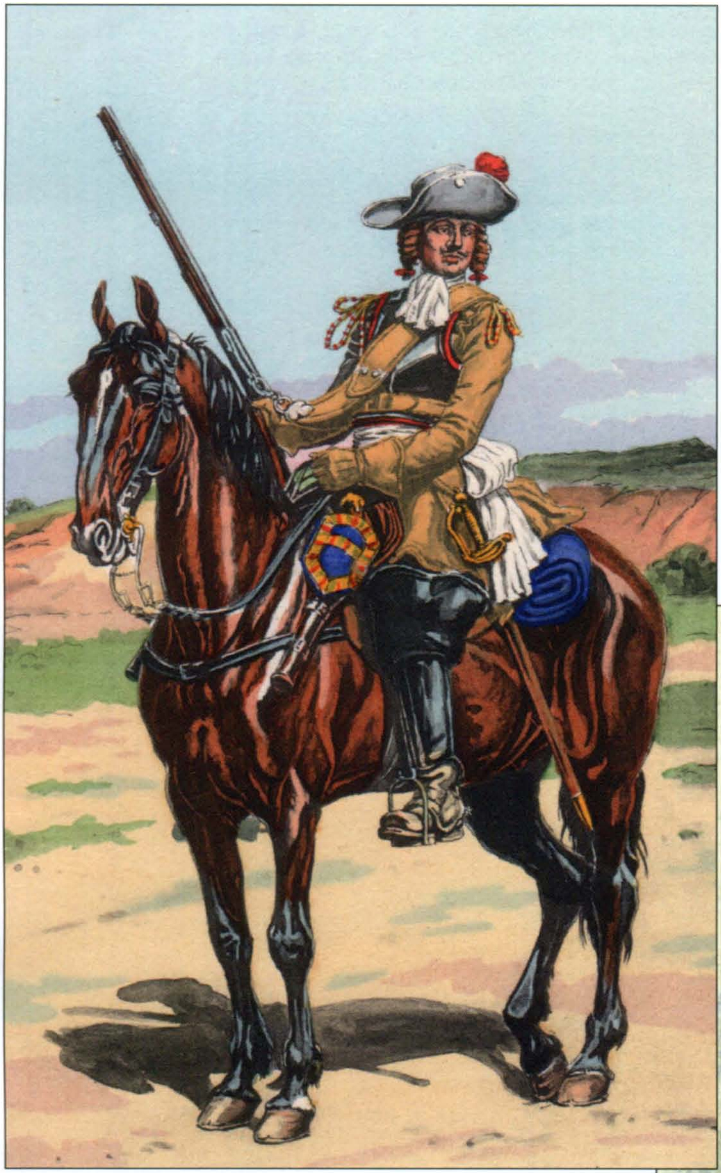
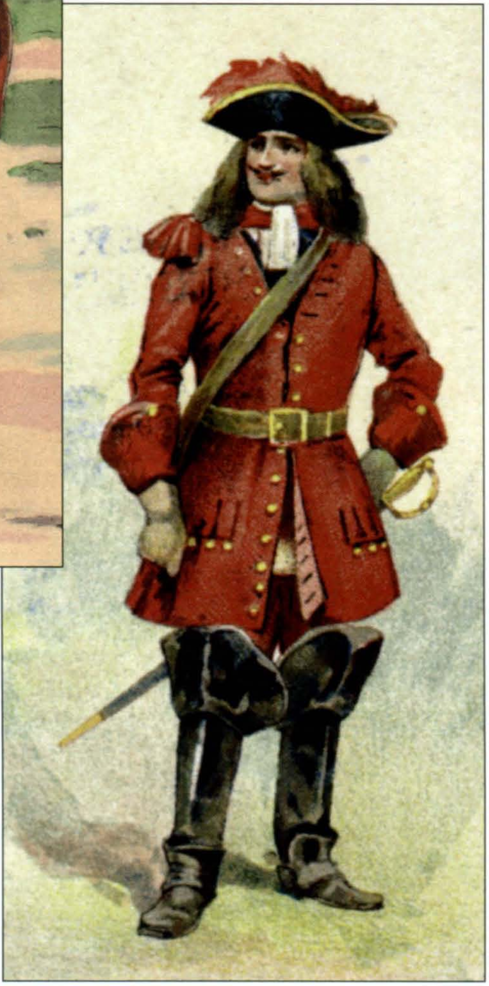


Plate 12

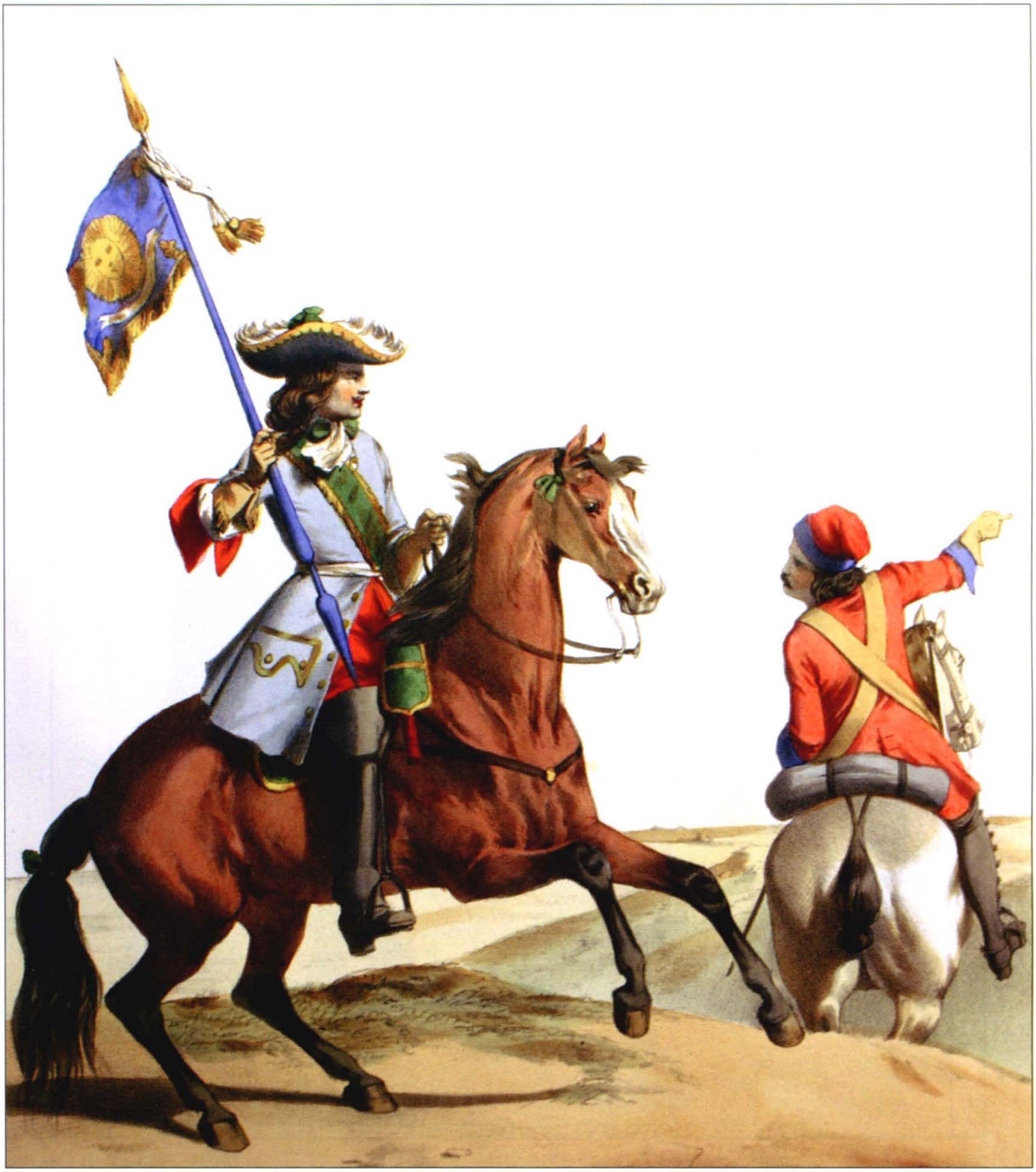


Below: Trooper, Noailles Cavalry Regiment, 1690. This line cavalry regiment raised from 20 December 1688 had the privilege of wearing a red uniform, which was the livery colour of its first commander, Lieutenant General (Marshal from 1693) Anne-Jules, Duc de Noailles. It first fought in Flanders, then in Catalonia from 1693 to 1695 under Marshal Noailles and Flanders again later on. (Print after E. Titeu. Courtesy New York Public Library. New York City)



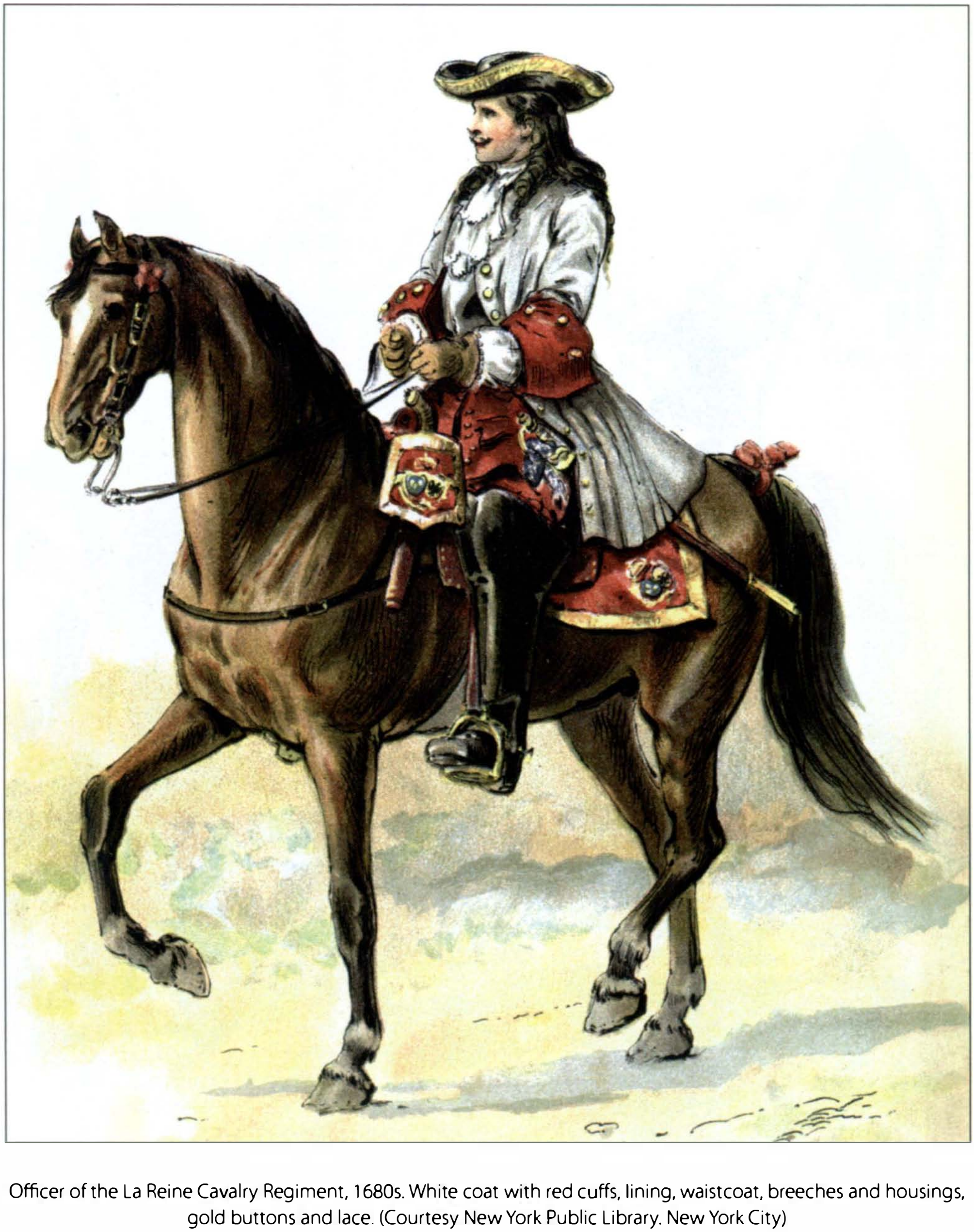
Above: Cavalry trooper, 1670s and 1680s. He is ready for action wearing his buff leather jacket, gauntlet gloves, breeches and reinforced black leather boots. His iron breastplate is painted black and his hat might have an invisible iron skull piece for further protection. He is armed with a heavy cavalry sword, a carbine and a pair of pistols. The white waist sash of France is for recognition in battle. The livery lace and aiguillettes (which could also be ribbons) could be attributed to Royal-Étranger Cavalerie, but others could have had something similar as well. Print after Pierre Benigny. (Courtesy Yves Martin collection and photo)

Plate 13



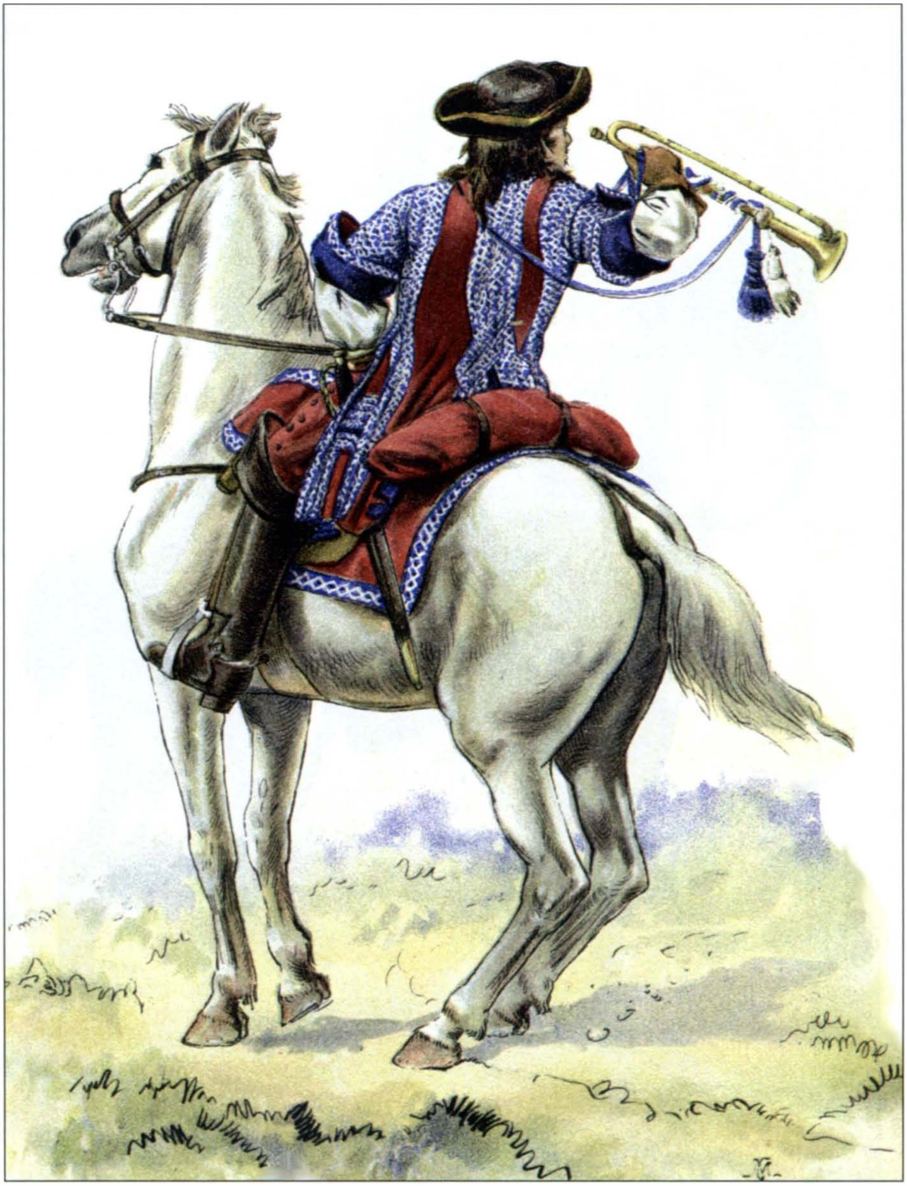
Cornet of a line cavalry regiment and a dragoon trooper, 1670s and early 1680s. The cornet holds a standard and wears the usual grey uniform coat with red cuffs assumed by most cavalry regiments. The green bandolier, ribbons and housings would be the colour of the mestre de camp's livery. The dragoon trooper in a red and blue uniform could belong to the La Reine Dragoon Regiment since his cap has no buttonholes. (Print after Marbot. Canadian War Museum, Ottawa. Author's photo)

Plate 14



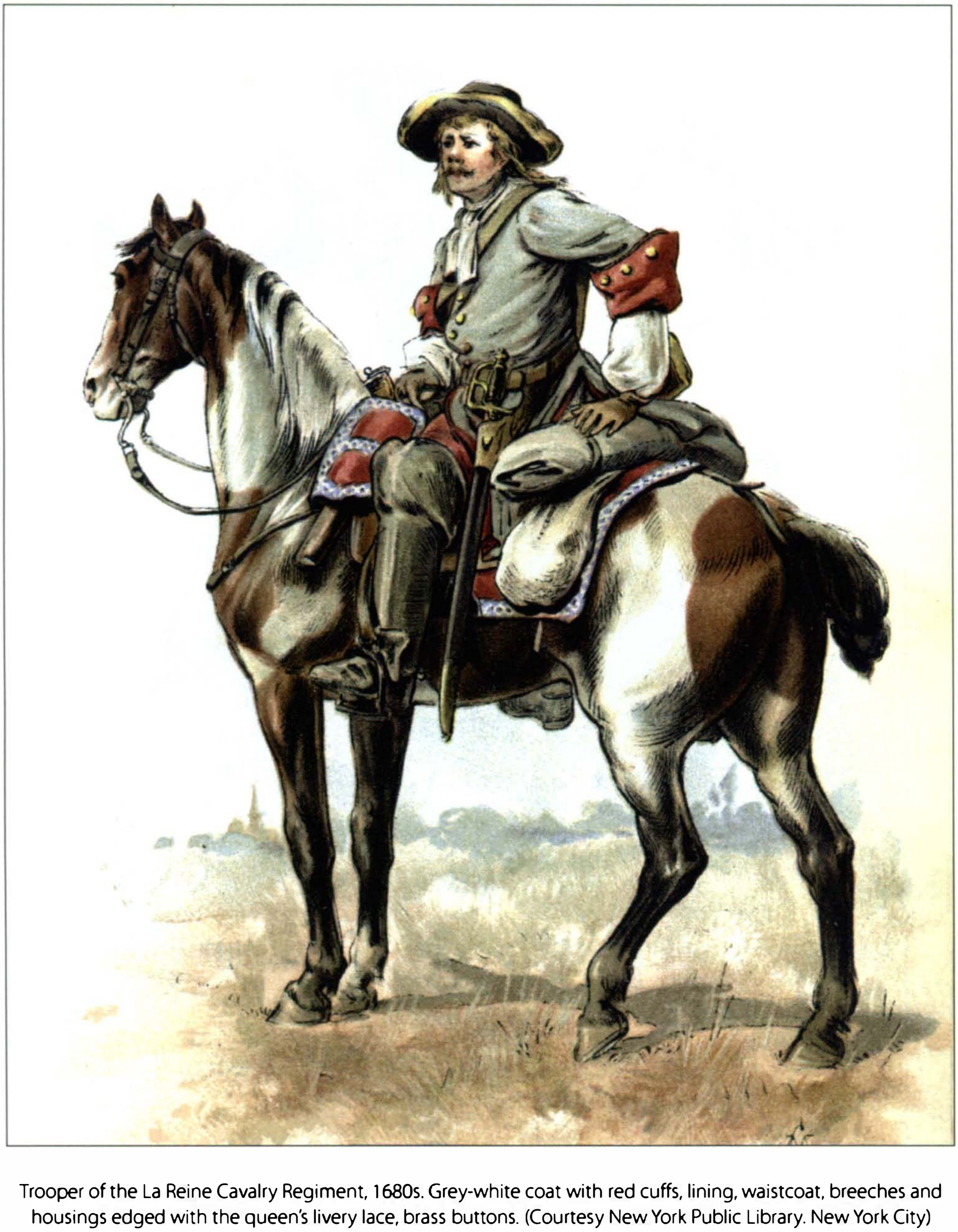
Officer of the La Reine Cavalry Regiment, 1680s. White coat with red cuffs, lining, waistcoat, breeches and housings, gold buttons and lace. (Courtesy New York Public Library. New York City)

Plate 15



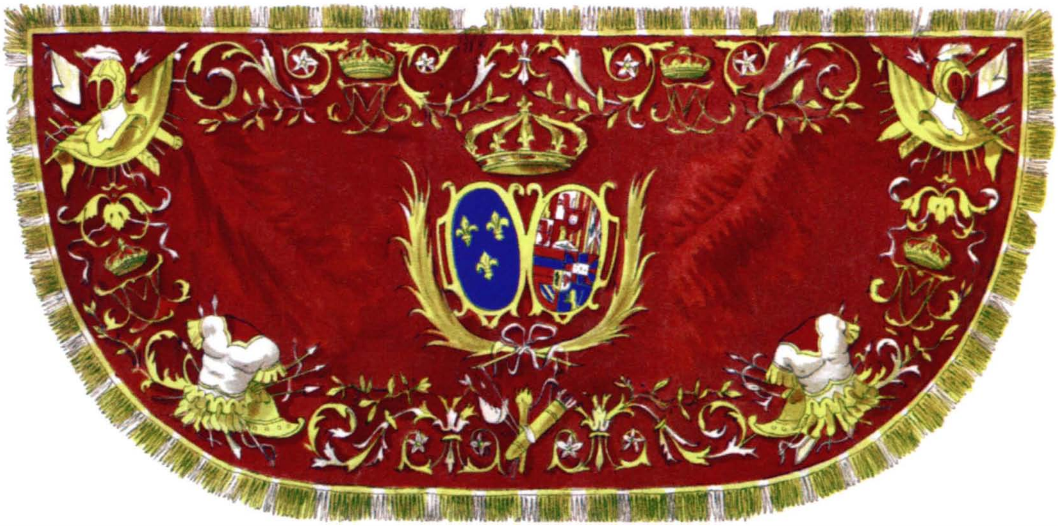
Trumpeter of the La Reine Cavalry Regiment, late seventeenth century. His coat is in the colours of the queen's livery, a red coat lined with blue with the queen's livery lace as are the red housings. (Courtesy New York Public Library. New York City)

Plate 16



Trooper of the La Reine Cavalry Regiment, 1680s. Grey-white coat with red cuffs, lining, waistcoat, breeches and housings edged with the queen's livery lace, brass buttons. (Courtesy New York Public Library. New York City)

Plate 17



Above; Kettledrum banner of the La Reine Cavalry Regiment, 1680s. The coat of arms of Queen Marie-Thérèse is next to those of King Louis XIV are on a red field, which was the colour of the queen's livery. (Courtesy New York Public Library. New York City)

Below: La Reine Cavalry Regiment trooper, ***c***. 1698. He wears a red coat lined with blue as described by Coffrey and the ***Mercure Galant***. (Watercolour by Herbert Knotel. Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library, Providence, RI, USA. Author's photo)

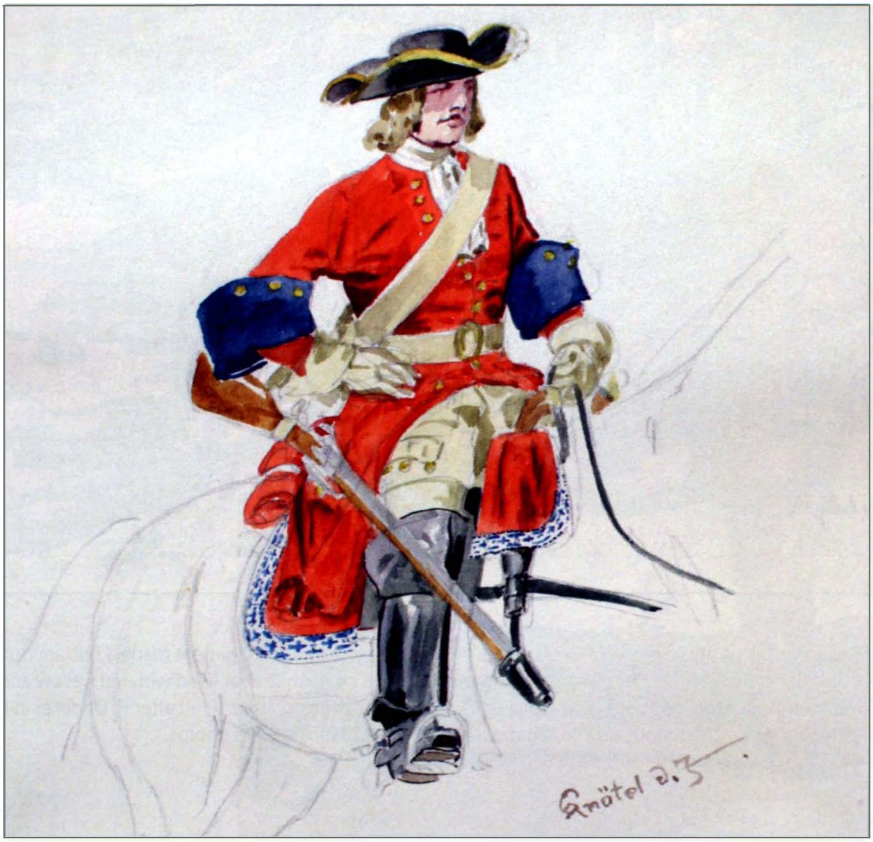
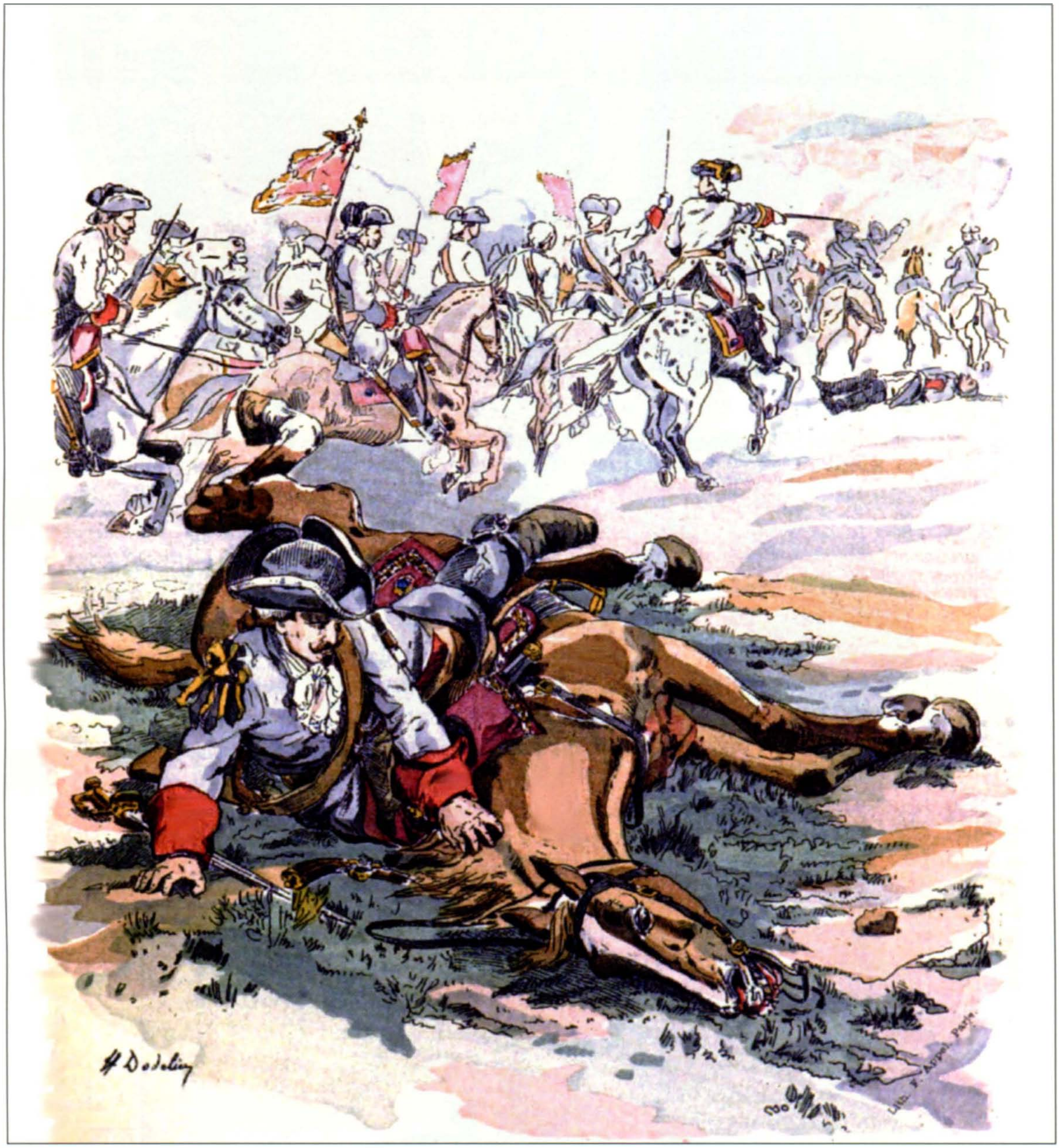
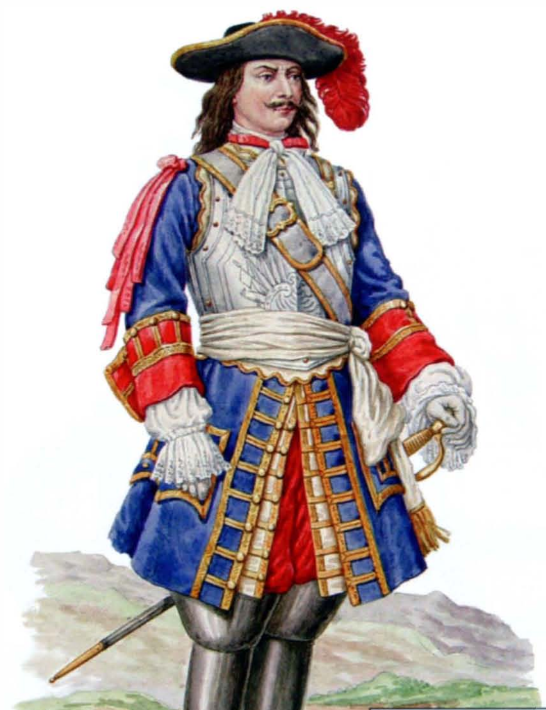


Plate 18

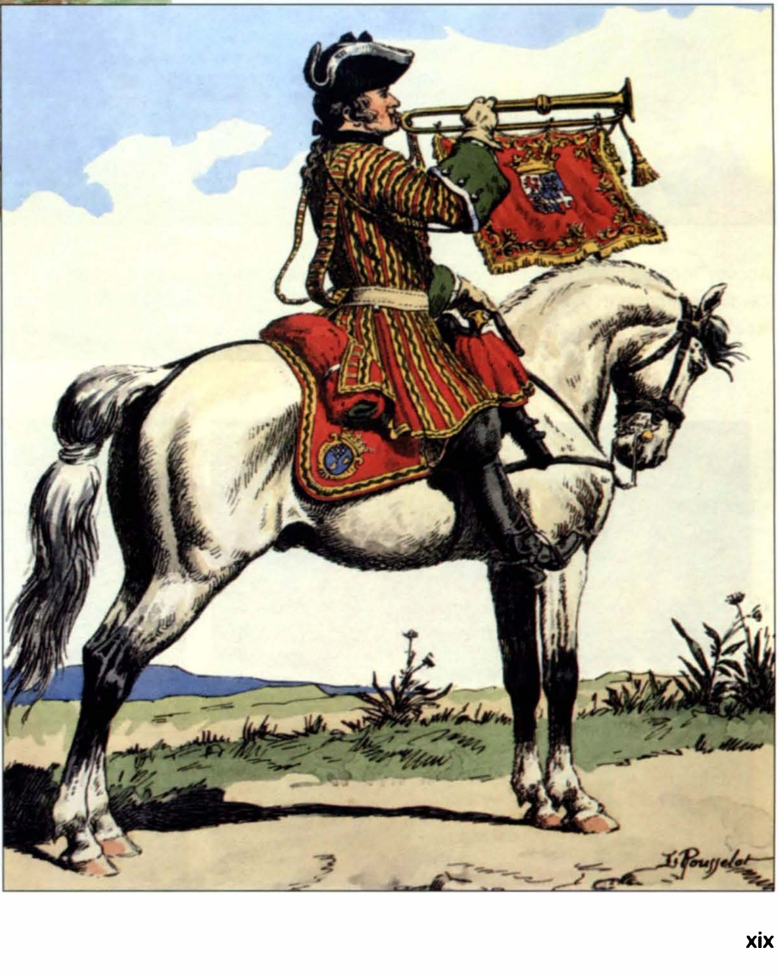


Charge of the Imécourt Cavalerie at the battle of Fleurus,June 1690. Imécourt's Cavalry Regiment made a brilliant but costly charge, losing eight officers killed and six wounded. Its uniform is reconstructed as a grey-white coat lined with red, yellow and black shoulder aiguillette, crimson saddle cloth edged with yellow and black squares on a crimson lace. (Print after H. Dodelier in M. Menuau's ***Historique du 14e Régiment de Dragons*** (1889). Author's photo)

Plate 19

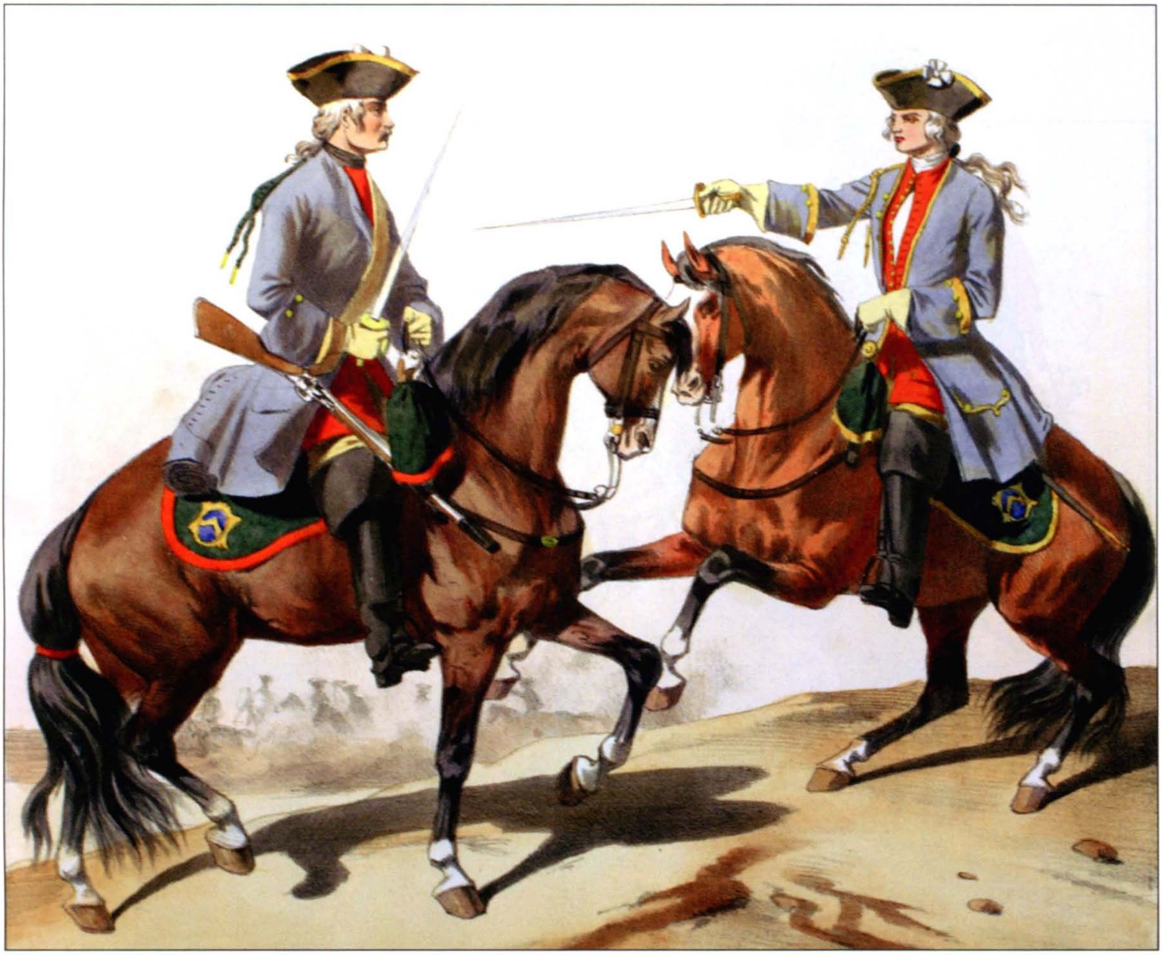


Left: Brigadier general and field officer of a cavalry regiment, late seventeenth century. He wears a blue coat lined with red denoting a "royal" regiment such as du Roi. The King encouraged senior officers to wear cuirasses. (Watercolour by "Ch. Le T." Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library, Providence, RI, USA. Author's photo)



Right: Trumpeter, Gesvres Cavalry Regiment, early eighteenth century. He wears the colonel's livery consisting of a red coat with green cuffs ornamented with yellow lace bearing a wavy green line, silver buttons and hat lace, red trumpet banner and housings with the badge of the colonel's coat of arms. (Print after Lucien Rousselot. Courtesy Yves Martin collection and photo)

Plate 20



Above: Trooper and officer of the Villeroy Cavalry Regiment, early eighteenth century. This was the typical appearance of most French cavalry regiments in the early eighteenth century. However, most had grey white with red cuffs. The regimental distinctions were the coat's aiguillettes and saddle housings that were in the colonel's livery colour, in this case green with housings bearing the colonel's coat of arms and being edged with red lace. (Print after Marbot. Canadian War Museum, Ottawa. Author's photo)

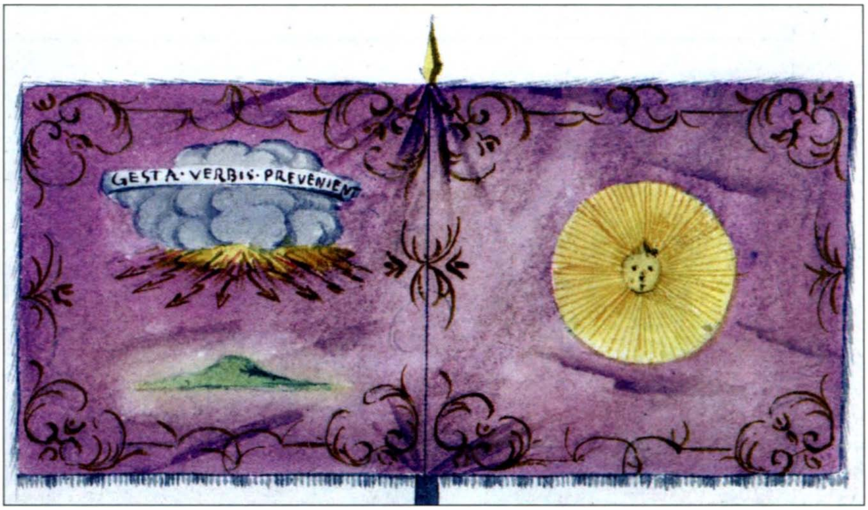
Facing page:

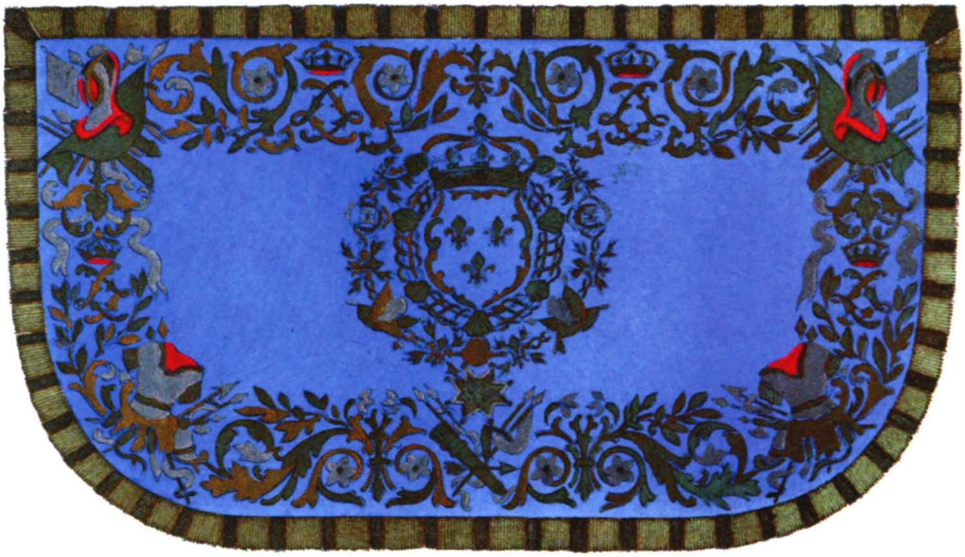
Top: Cavalry standard of an unknown French unit said to have been captured at Oudenarde in 1708. (Unsigned watercolour of the period. Courtesy Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, BI-B-FM-071-103)

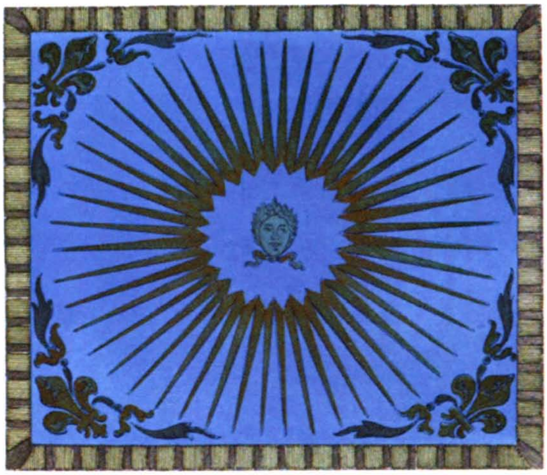
Centre: Royal-Piémont Cavalerie kettle drum banner, 1690–1791. (Print in E. Hache's 1890 ***Historique du 23e dragons***. Author's photo)

Bottom: Royal-Piémont Cavalerie standards, 1690–1791. (Print in E. Hache's 1890 ***Historique du 23e dragons***. Author's photo)

Plate 21


GESTA·VERBIS·PREVENIENT





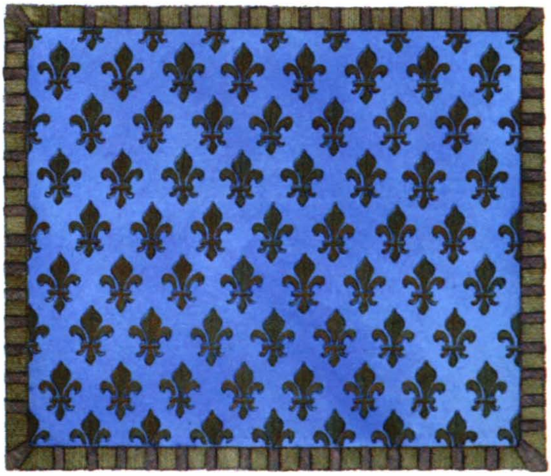
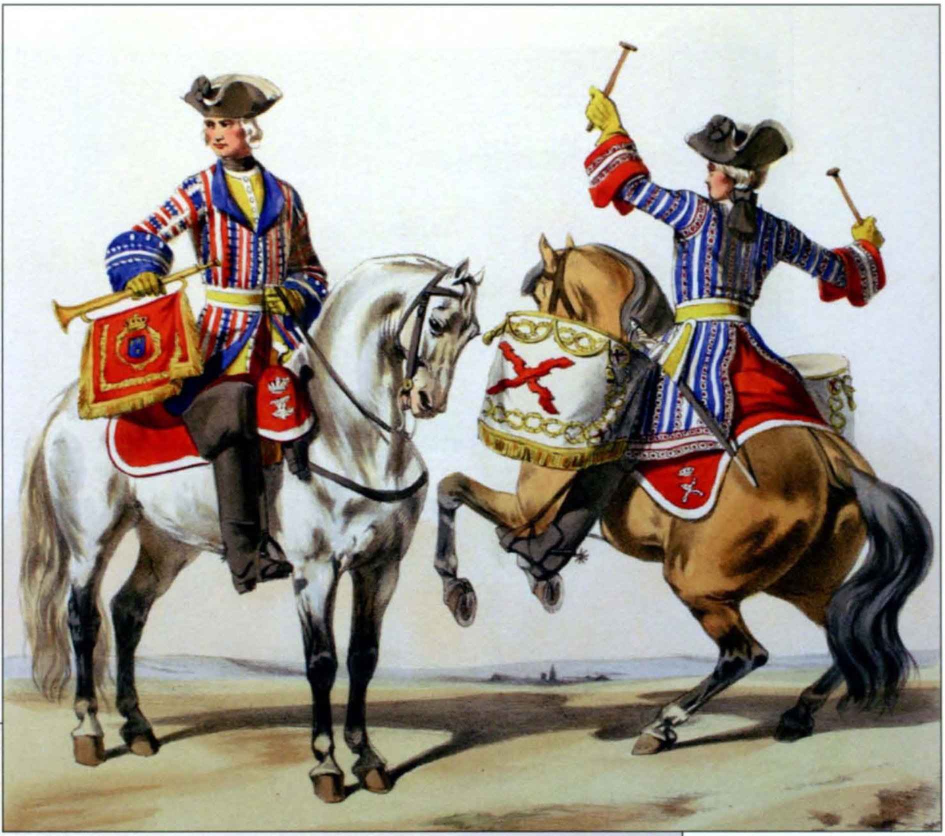
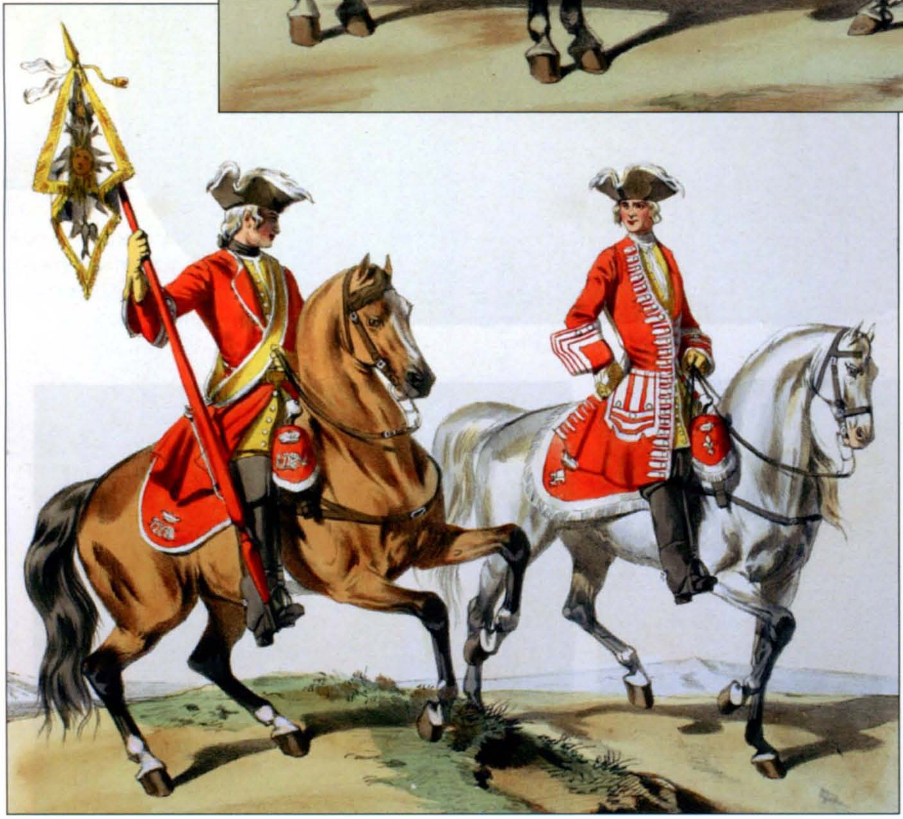


Plate 22

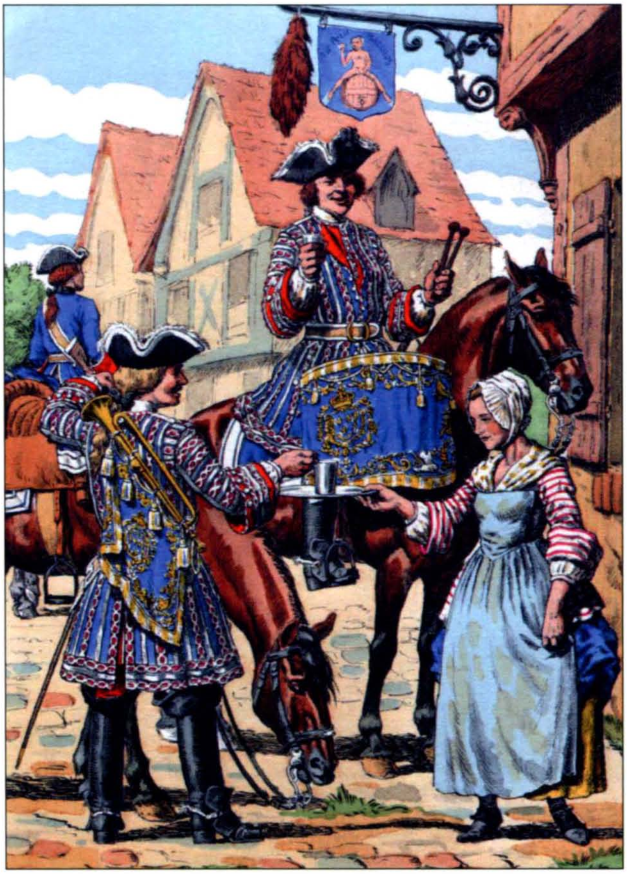


Right: Gendarmerie de France trumpeter of the Chevau-Légers d'Orléans Company, and kettledrummer of the Gendarmes Bourguignons Company, early eighteenth century. (Print after Alfred de Marbot. Canadian War Museum, Ottawa. Author's photo)



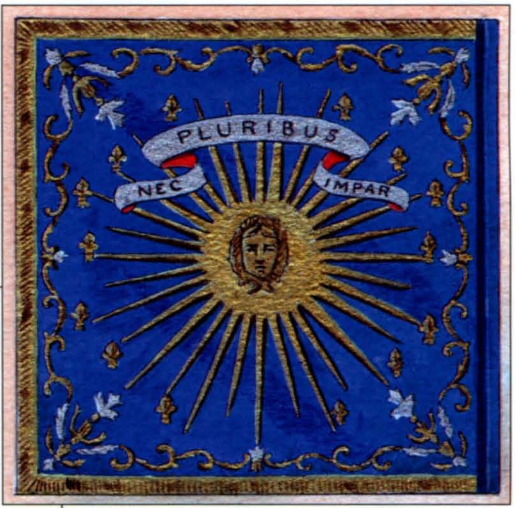
Left: Gendarmerie de France, **c**. 1714–1720. This, with the addition of lace edging the pockets, was the basic appearance of the corps during the War of Spanish Succession. From the left: a guidon of the Gendarmes Anglais Company and an officer. (Print after Alfred de Marbot. Canadian War Museum, Ottawa. Author's photo)

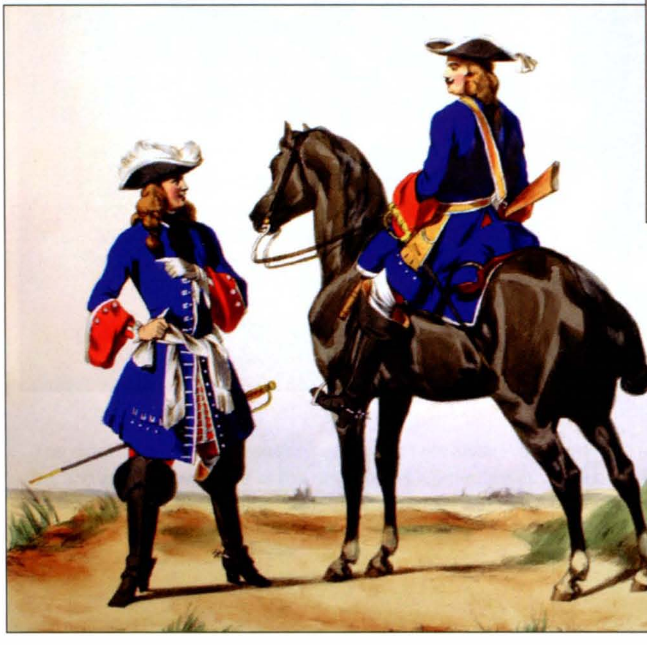
Plate 23



Left: Trumpeter and kettledrummer of the Régiment Royal des Carabiniers, early eighteenth century. Their coats were of the royal livery colours further ornamented with silver lace. (Print after L. Rousselot in ***Le Passepoil***, 1930. Author's photo)

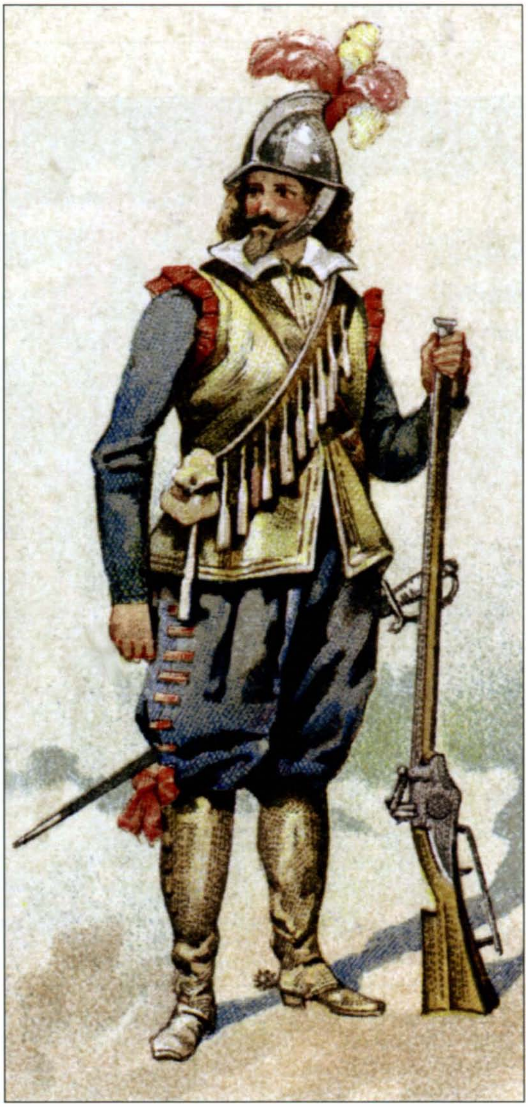
Below: Standard of the Carabiniers du Roi, late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Dark blue silk embroidered with gold and silver. (Watercolour by H. Feist. Courtesy Yves Martin collection and photo)



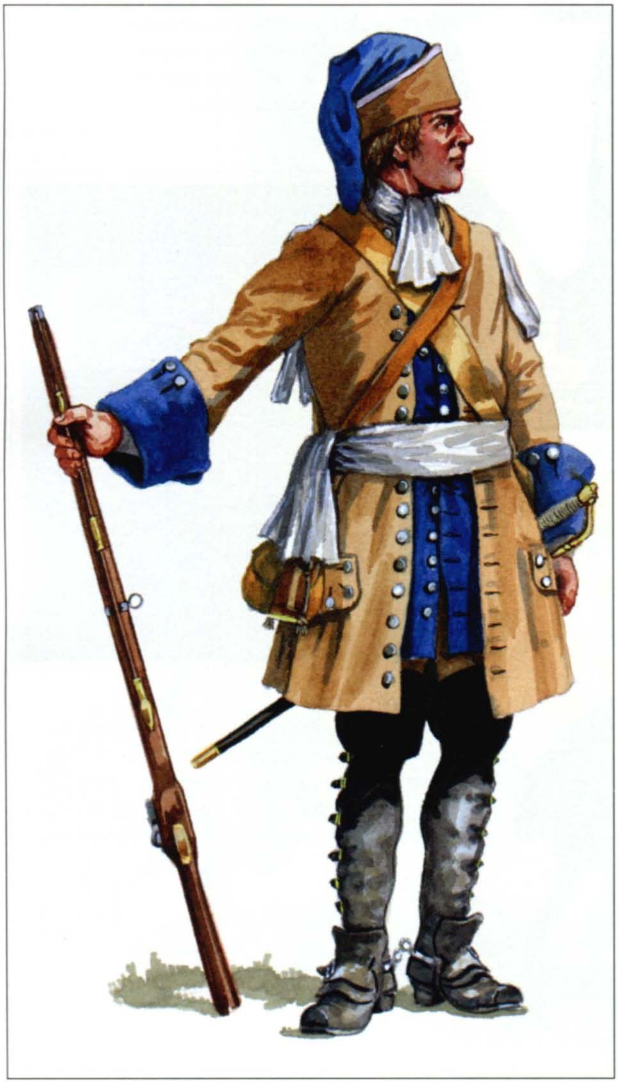


Left: Officer and trooper of the Régiment Royal des Carabiniers (or Royal-Carabiniers), late seventeenth century. The uniform was dark blue lined red with silver buttons and lace. (Print after Alfred de Marbot. Canadian War Museum, Ottawa. Author's photo)

Plate 24

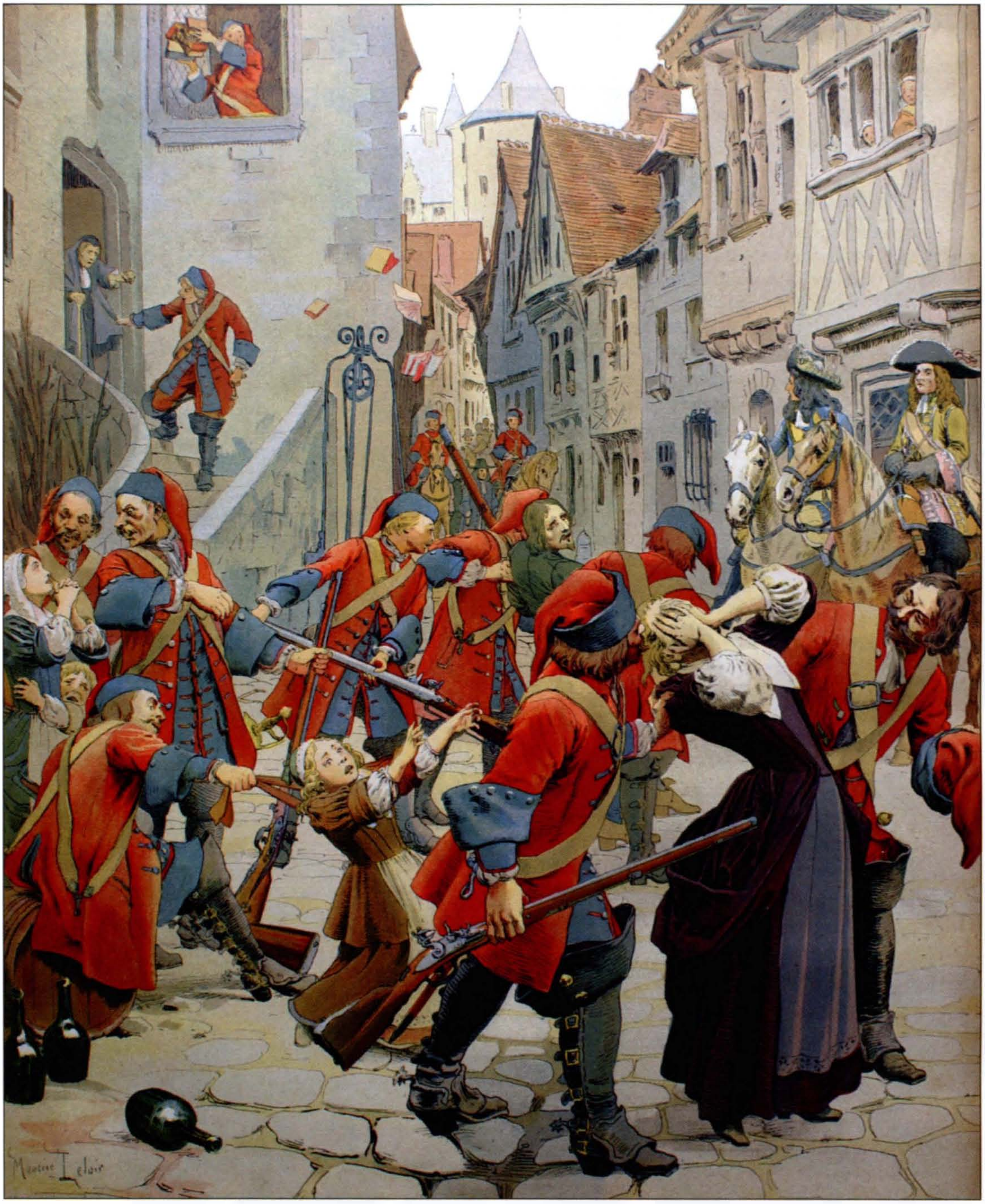


Right: Trooper of the La Ferté Dragoon Regiment, *c*. 1651. He is armed as a musketeer and also wearing a buff leather vest and leather gaiters and spurs more typical of a horse soldier. (Print after E. Titeu. Courtesy New York Public Library. New York City)



Left: Trooper of the Listennois Dragoon Regiment, 1680, which was reported as wearing isabelle (buff) and blue with silver buttons and lace at a 1680 parade. (Watercolour by R. Marrion. Private collection. Author's photo)

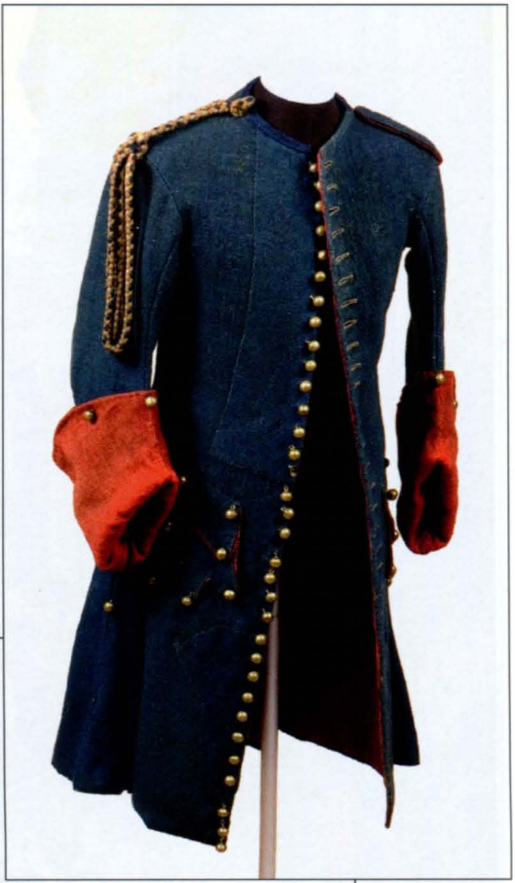
Plate 25



The dragonades, 1685. Dragoons arrest and take away Protestants in a town likely located in south-central France. Officers look on, and at windows some of the neighbours worriedly watch the proceedings going on below. The unit depicted might be the La Reine or Colonel-général dragoon regiments, both of which had red coats lined with blue. (Print after Maurice Leloir. Private collection. Author's photo)

Plate 26

Right: Coat of a royal cavalry or dragoon regiment, 1690s. This coat, said to have been sent as a model uniform to Sweden, is in the colours of the royal livery and could be interpreted as a garment of the mounted services due to its aiguillette, which is also in the royal colours. It has had some major repairs on the right breast. (Courtesy Swedish Army Museum, Stockholm. AM.017539)



Below: Dragoons, 1698. At left an officer holding the guidon of his unit, the Dauphin Dragoon Regiment. At centre, an officer of the La Reine Dragoon Regiment. At right a private of the Hautefort Dragoon Regiment. (Print after Marbot inspired by the 1698 descriptions of the review at Compiègne. Canadian War Museum, Ottawa. Author's photo)

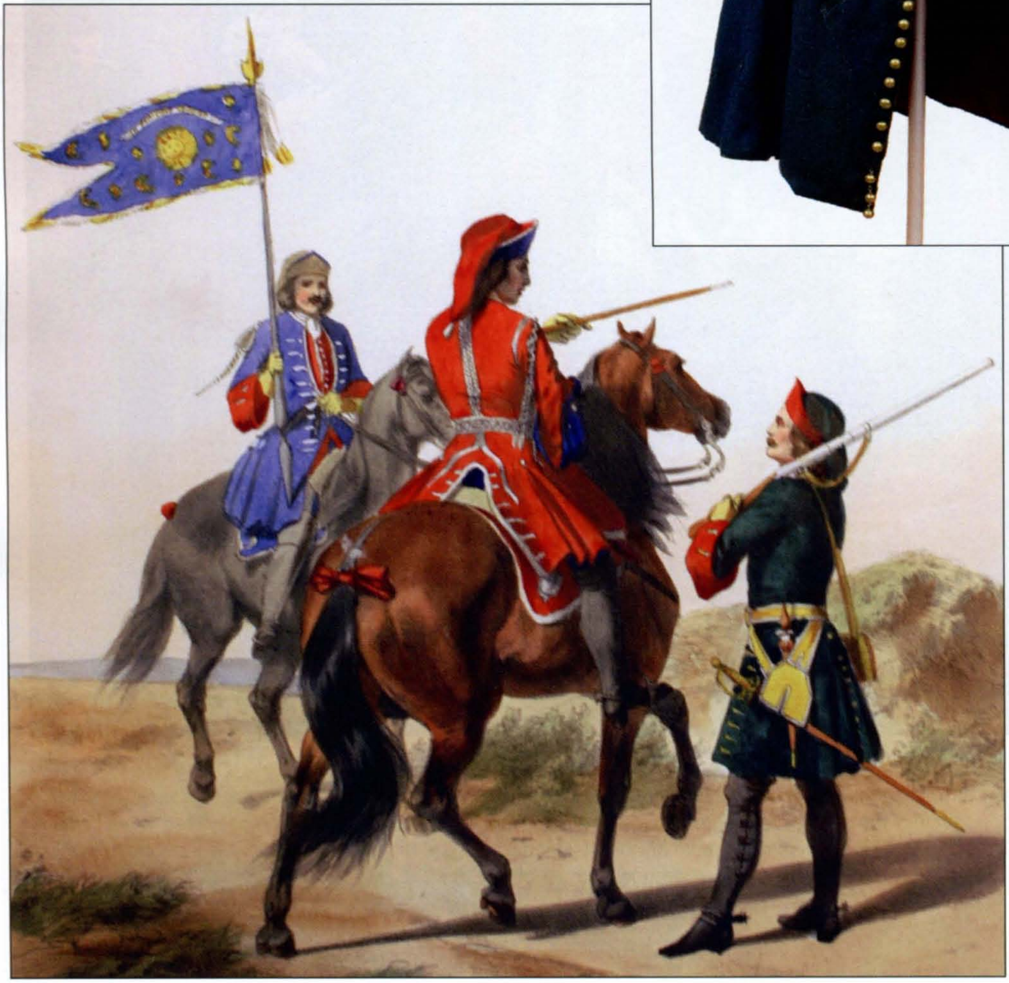
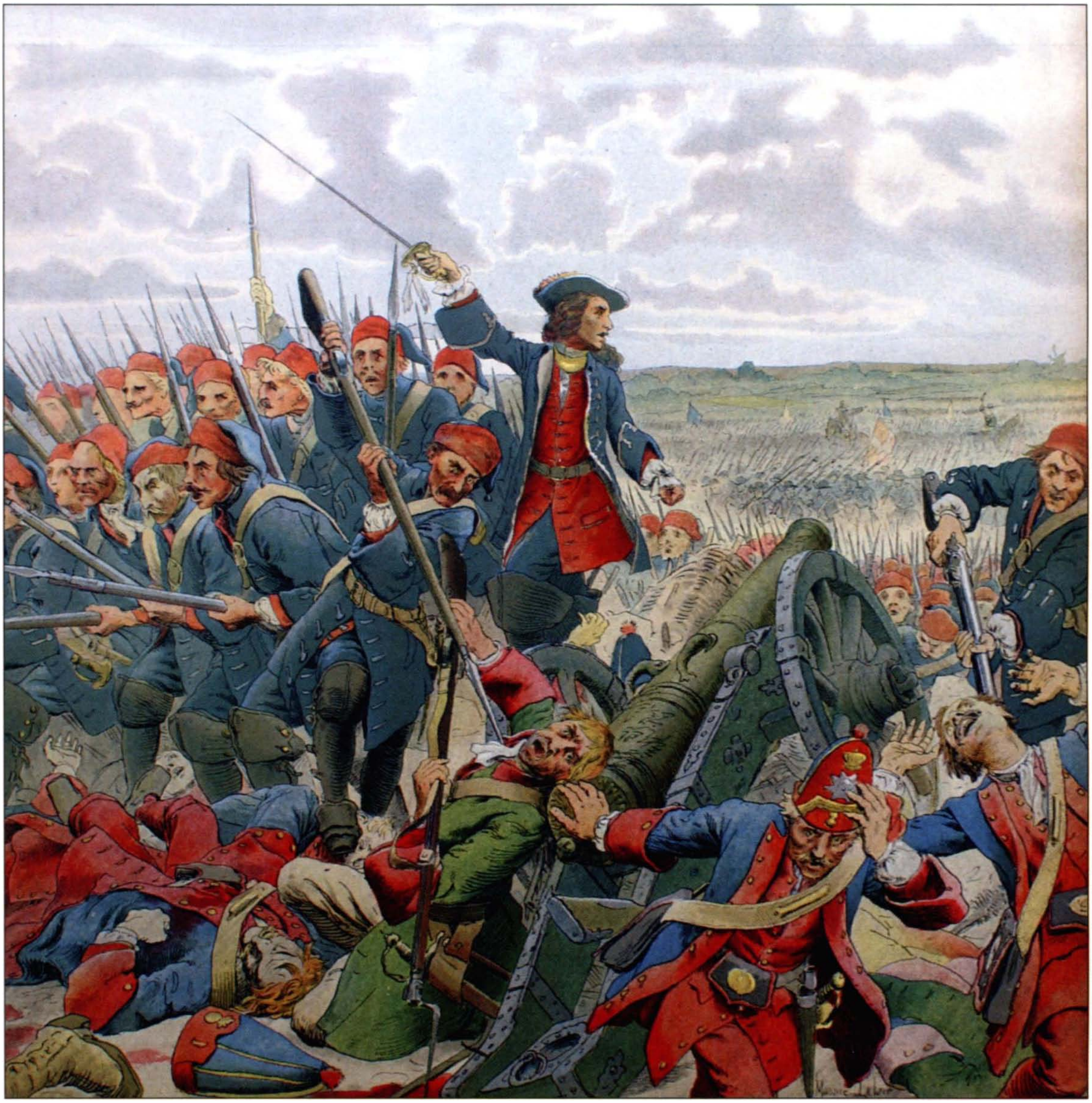
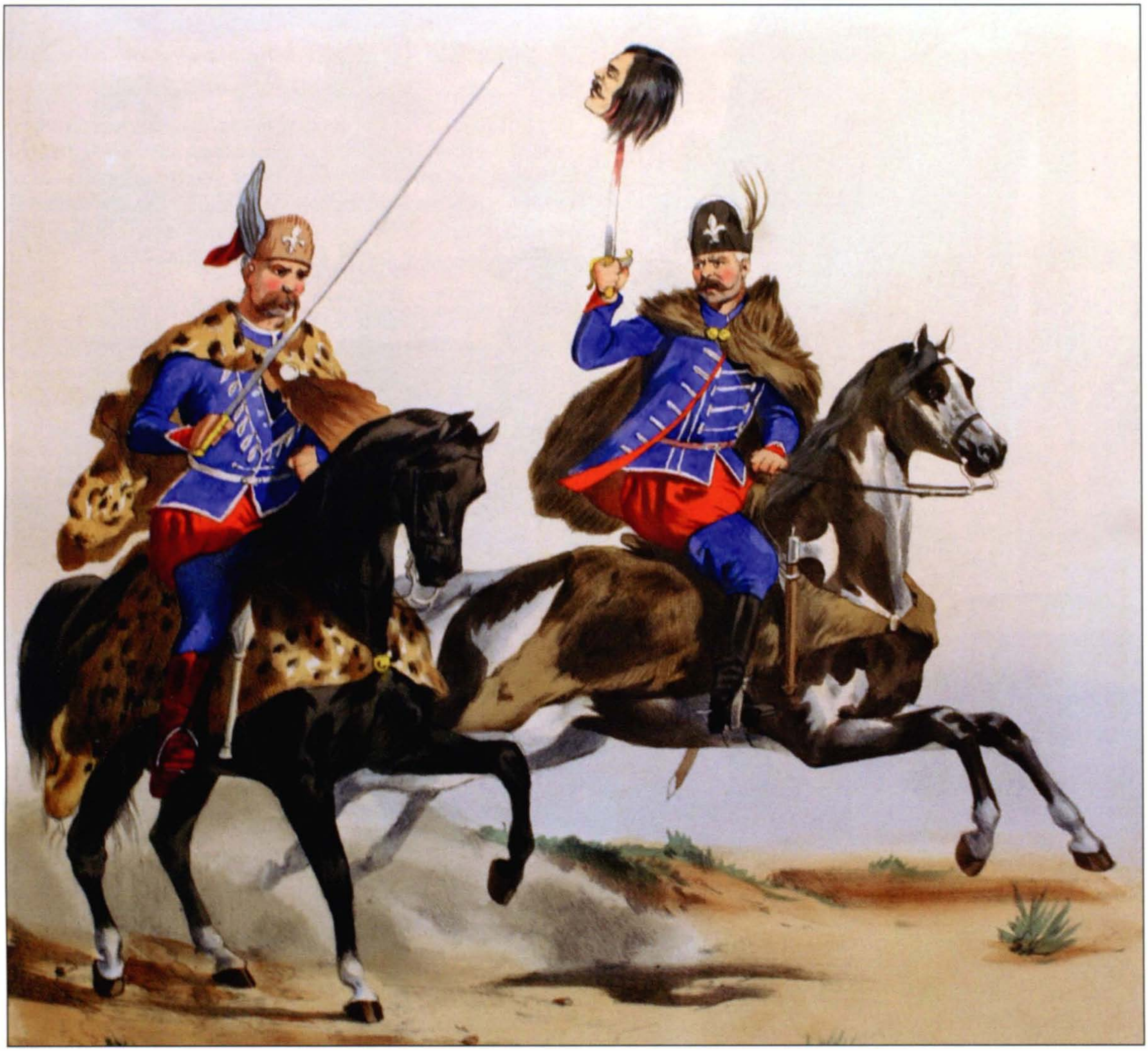


Plate 27


Maurice Leloir

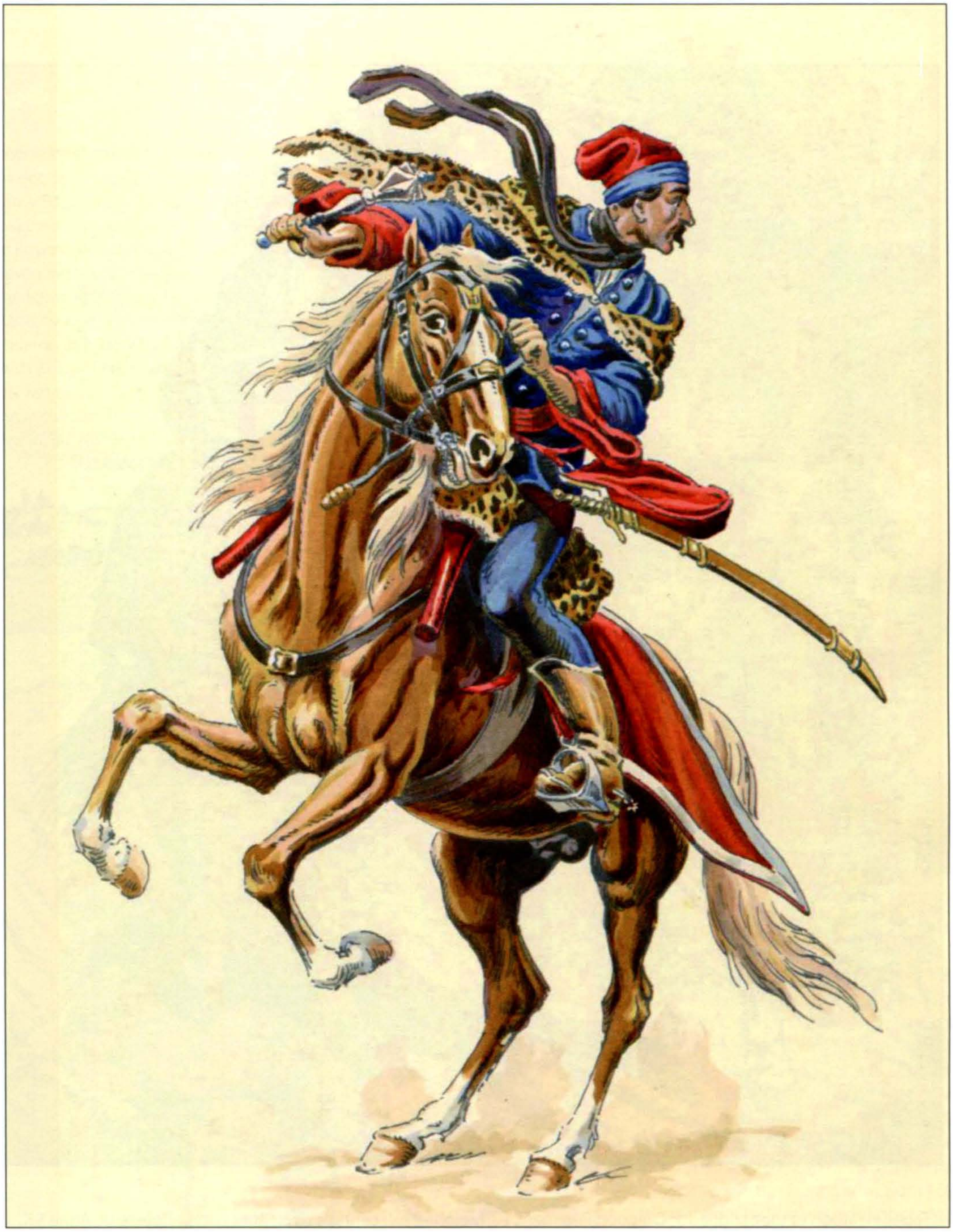
The Dauphin Dragoon Regiment in action on the Rhine front, *c*. 1712. Print after Maurice Leloir. (Private collection. Author's photo)

Plate 28



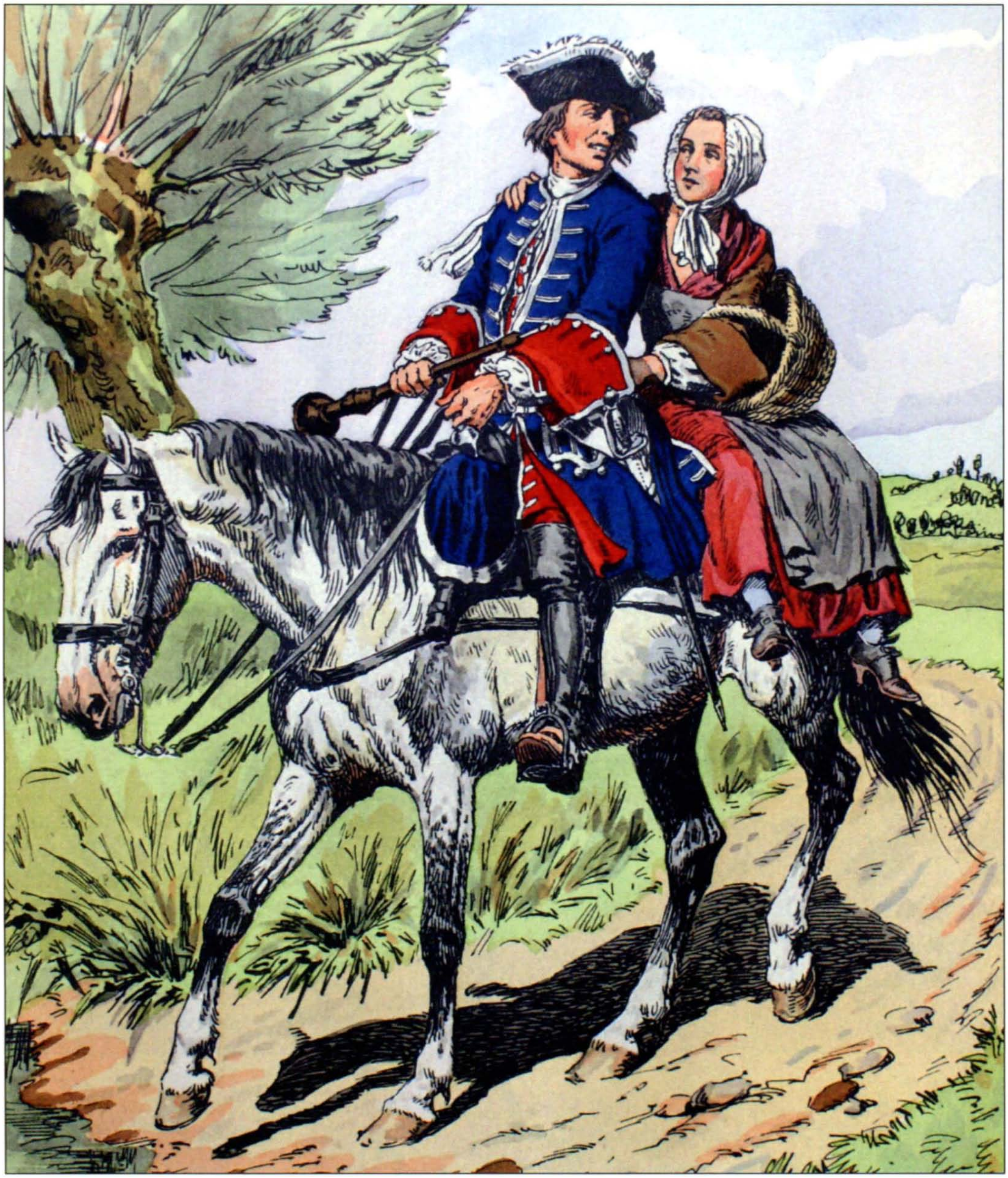
Troopers of the Hussard Royaux Regiment, late seventeenth century. This rendering is based on a Guérard print illustrating a rather uncouth practice upon fallen opponents by early hussars. (Print after Marbot. Canadian War Museum, Ottawa. Author's photo)

Plate 29



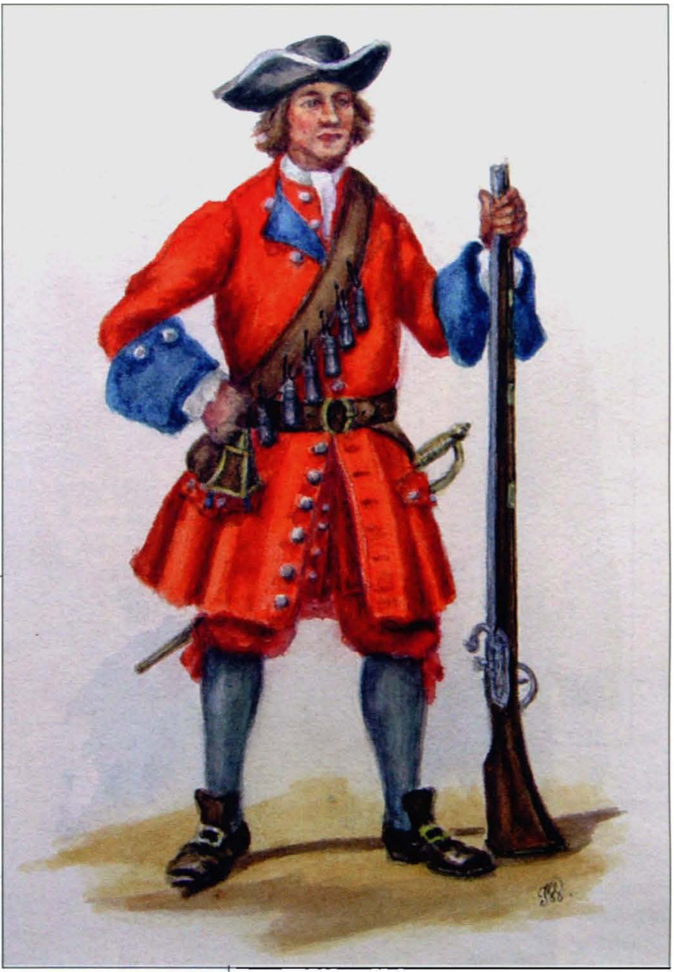
A hussar officer, late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In this rendering, the artist shows an officer in his more ordinary campaign dress. (Print after Pierre Benigny. Private collection. Author's photo)

Plate 30

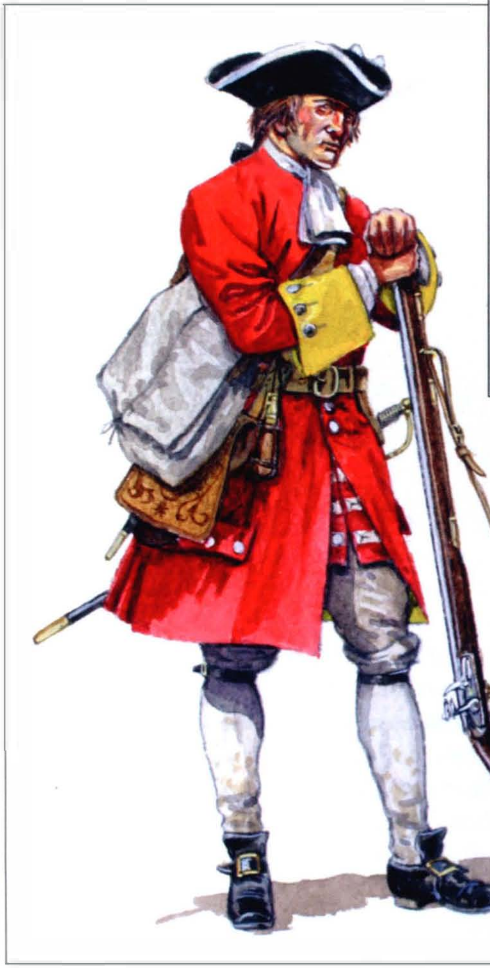


Right: Hautbois of the Languedoc Dragoon Regiment, early eighteenth century. (Print after Lucien Rousselot. Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library, Providence, RI, USA. Author's photo)

Plate 31

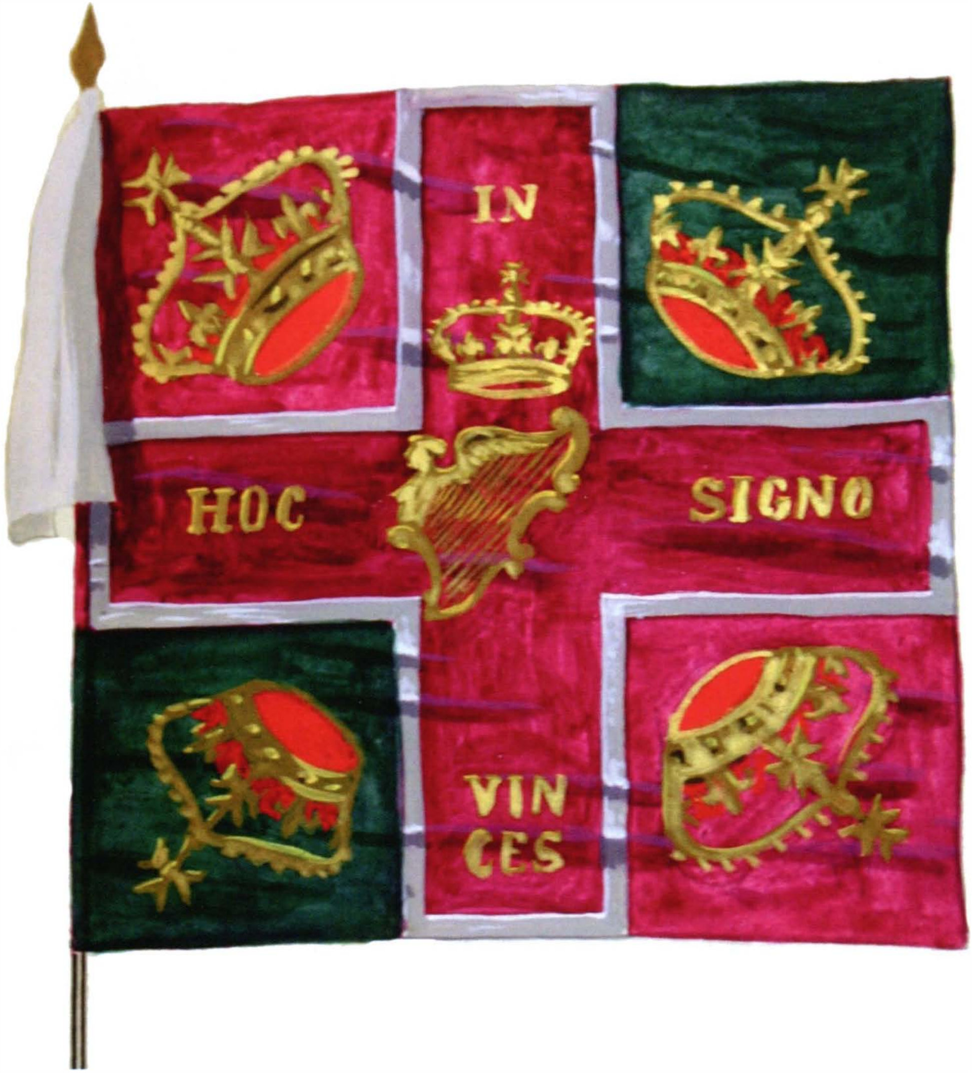


Right: Musketeer of the Lord Grand Prior's Regiment, 1689–1690. This Irish unit commanded by Henry Fitzjames, who was the Lord Grand Prior, campaigned with King James II in Ireland including the Boyne. General Boisselot wrote that it had "achieved wonders" in valour during the first siege of Limerick in September 1690. It went to France in 1691 and, having been originally intended to serve as a marine unit, became the Marine Regiment in the Irish Army of King James in France. According to this watercolour by H. Oakes-Jones, it wore red with blue cuffs and lining. (Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library, Providence, RI, USA. Author's photo)



Left: Private of the Marine Infantry Regiment, Irish Army of King James, *c.* 1691–1697. The soldiers of this unit were described as wearing "red coats with yellow" trimmings that most likely meant cuffs and lining. The equipment is French and some French muskets at this time could have brass furnishings. Although termed "Marine" in Charles II's army in France, while the Lord Grand Prior went to sea the regiment served on land in Germany and the Rhineland from 1693 to 1697, and became Albemarle's Regiment in the French army from 1698. (Watercolour by R. Marrion. Private collection. Author's photo)

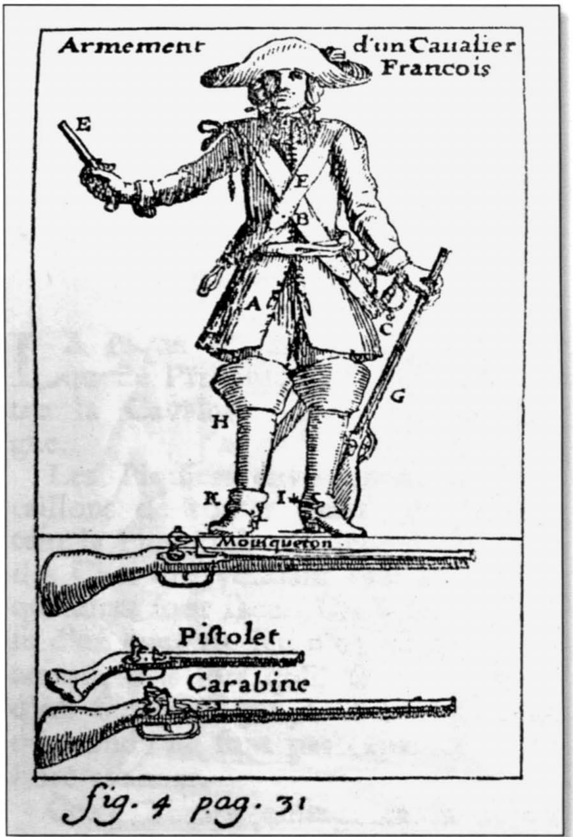
Plate 32



Lee's Irish Regiment's regimental colour, early eighteenth century. (Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library, Providence, RI, USA. Author's photo)

of the province of Franche-Comté, Monsieur Le Guerchois. An exempt of the Maréchaussée armed constabulary next appeared at Preigney and noted that there were now 26½ casks left. Furthermore, Cornet Montrelet and his troopers refused to surrender the casks, the wagons and the horses. Intendant Le Guerchois estimated the damages at 5,500 livres and ordered Cornet Montrelet to pay it, but he fled instead to his family in Amiens. The Ministry of War was informed, and in April 1710 Cornet Montrelet was arrested and imprisoned in Fort Griffon. He would be released if he paid 2,000 livres to Pinot, which he could not. He was still in prison in early 1712 when Intendant Le Guerchois, recognising that Montrelet was a brave but financially poor officer who had been wounded at the head several times in battle, asked for a royal cash gratification of 900 livres against his pay and borrowed another 800, an arrangement to which wine merchant Pinot agreed. It was done in March and a released Montrelet rejoined his regiment.[14]

This case shows what could happen to an officer who was too lax with his troopers. The chain of responsibility was much more solid in the Sun King's era than in previous reigns, but Intendant Le Guerchois' actions, after applying the law, also shows a certain flexibility so that a brave officer deserved consideration. The fate of the troopers in this incident is undocumented, but one can suppose a rather stern period for them before being back in grace with their officers. They too needed brave troopers to charge the enemy with them.



A French cavalry trooper, 1670s. This engraving from Gaya's 1678 Traité des Armes defines the different items: A: buff coat with deerskin sleeves; B: buff bandolier for the sabre; C: sabre; D: sash; E: buff belt to carry the carbine; E: pistol; F: carbine; H: boots; I: spurs; K: spur covers. The carbine and pistol and rather crudely show below as is a carabine (rifled carbine). (Private collection. Author's photo)

Line Cavalry Uniforms

At the time the Sun King was born and until he was a young man, there was not a great deal in the dress and equipment of a French cavalryman that showed him to be different from his opponents. There were no uniforms to speak of since clothing was provided by the individual according to his means. On the whole, a cavalryman would have a hat and often a steel helmet too, a cloth jacket over his shirt, breeches, stockings, boots with spurs, leather gloves and a cape for warmth. Colours and type of material would vary. For protection, it was a good idea to have a buff leather jacket and it seems nearly all had them. Some might have sleeves and others not, the front might close with cords for some and small buttons for others, but, on the whole, they

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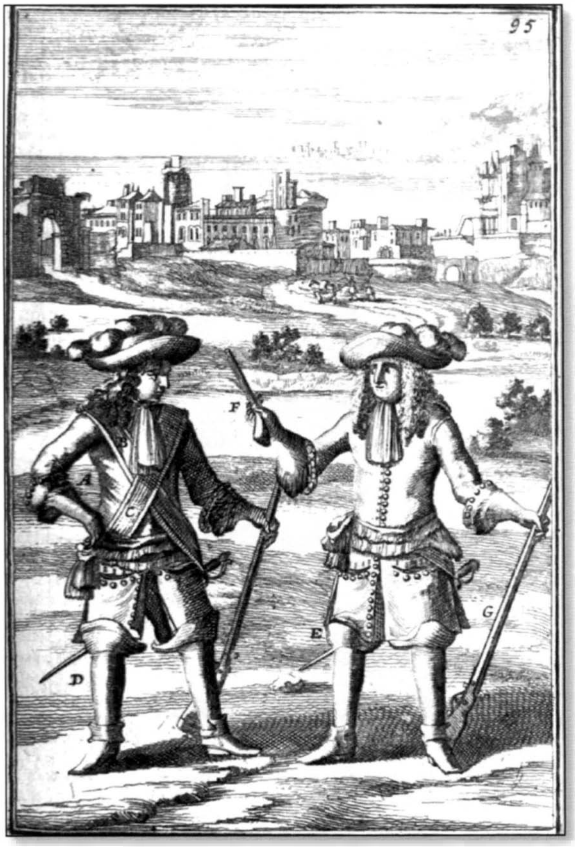
[14] R. Boisseau, 'Les Cuirassiers du Roy', *Carnet de La Sabretache*, December 2000, p.140. The incidents are taken from AG, A1 2296, folio 389; 2244, folio 535 and Yb 99, folio 13. Montrelet finished the war as a lieutenant and remained in the regiment.



Cavalry troopers, 1670s and 1680s. The trooper at left is of the 1670s and early 1680s because he wears the wide buff leather shoulder baldric to hold the carbine and buff shoulder sword belt (marked B and C), a buff leather sleeved jacket (A) and boots (D). The trooper at right dates from 1684. He wears a buff leather waist-belt, which was ordered to replace the shoulder belts in 1684. It held a cartridge box containing "about 12 charges [cartridges] for pistols and carbines … packed in little rolls of paper" in the diameter of the calibre "that they tear with their teeth at one end to let fall at the same time the powder and the ball in the barrel, and the paper acts as wadding". The weapons consisted of a "sabre or a sword" (E), pistols (F) and a carbine (G). In Maneson Mallet's ***Les travaux de Mars*** 1684 Paris edition. (Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library, Providence, RI, USA. Author's photo)

were remarkably similar for all western European cavalrymen. A cuirass protecting the chest and front or just a breastplate was desirable, but many troopers increasingly did not have any.

Since a French and, say, a West German trooper looked much the same, sashes were worn to tell friend from foe in battle. From the time of the reign of King Henri IV (1589–1610), French troopers wore white sashes over the shoulder or around the waist for national identification. There could also be another sash in the units commander's colour although this seems to have been rarer from the 1650s. By the 1690s, sashes were being laid aside by troopers and were no longer worn even by officers in the early 1700s.[15]

Trumpeters and kettledrummers would have been issued by their mestre de camp with a cassock or a coat in the colours of his livery. The guard companies attached to generals and high nobles would also have livery cassocks, but whole regiments were not likely to be given such garments due to the high cost involved.

An idea of the appearance of a body of cavalry in the early 1660s is given by an observer from the Vatican who witnessed the entry of a strong escort of "436 mounted soldiers (besides the servants who accompany the baggage) in 11 companies" that accompanied M. de Bellefond sent by Louis XIV, who arrived in Milan on 11 October 1663 to call on the Duke of Parma. Eight companies were from royal regiments and their trumpeters and kettledrummers wore "the King's livery" with another company being Bellefond's personal guard and the two unidentified with "the soldiers dressed with a buff coat, and the companies have no other differences amongst them but their hats and the plumes they wear". It was also reported that these units were recruiting more men "on their way" who would receive a bonus "and a horse, with the obligation of providing pistols, carbine, boots and a cloak".[16]

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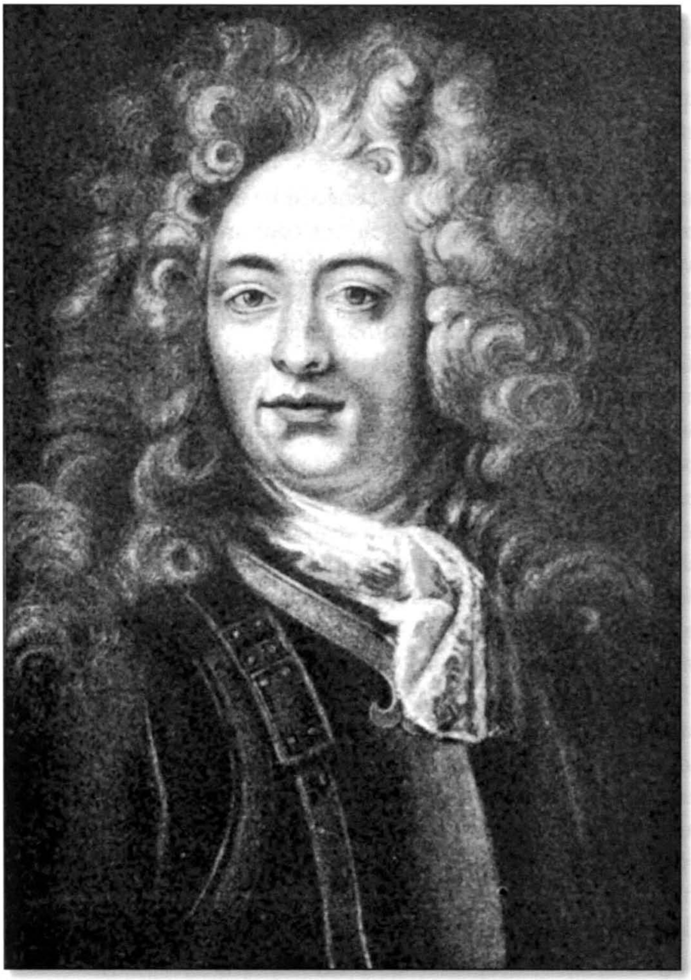
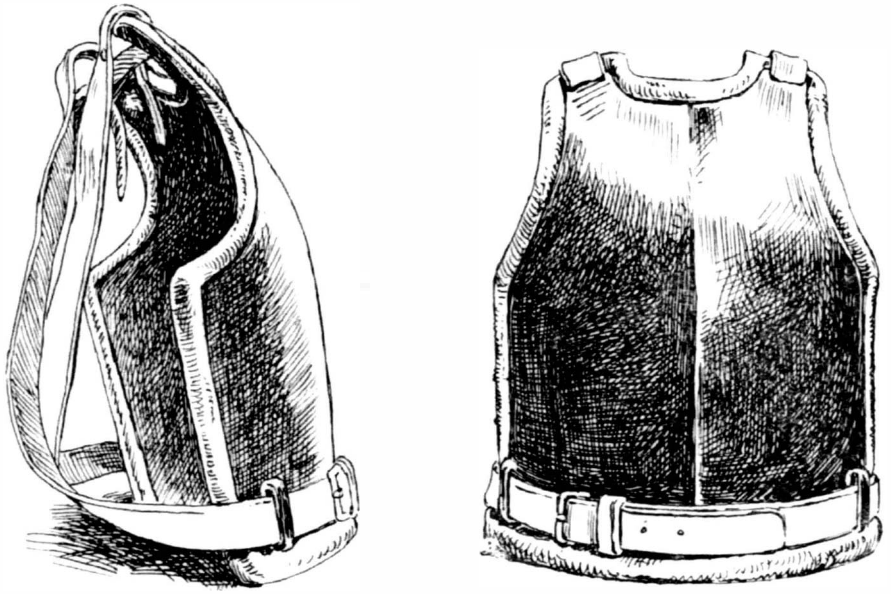
[15] Blue national sashes had been often previously worn by the French. In the era of the Sun King, the Spanish had red sashes, the Dutch orange, the English crimson, Austrians yellow and black, and so on. For much more see Beneton de Morange de Peyrins, *Traité des marques nationales* (Paris: G. Le Mercier, 1739).

[16] Report from the Vatican Archives kindly shared by Giancarlo Boeri.



Left Mestre de Camp the Marquis de Bonneval of the Cuirassiers du Roi Regiment, c. 1705. He commanded the regiment from 1697 to 1710. He wears the cuirass over the chest and the back, one of the only regiments to do so. The arm and neck openings is his cuirass are edged with gold. (Print after portrait in the history of the 8th Cuirassiers. Author's photo)

Below: Cavalry trooper's breastplate, reign of Louis XIV and early Louis XV. It was made of iron, the inside lined with rough linen and edged with a padded border covered with red cloth. The belts were of buff leather. (Print after Pierre Benigny. Courtesy Yves Martin collection and photo)



When exactly cavalry clothing became uniform is unknown. If anything it was a gradual process. For largely economic reasons long before it was introduced, captains often gave similar clothing and equipment to their men that might have similar colours, but one batch might be grey, another blue and so on. A 5 April 1668 royal order observed that the troops should properly maintain their clothing and that it should be in the livery colour of the company in which they served. This was the captain's livery, so if it was ever done, the variety would have been substantial. The results must not have pleased anyone including the Sun King.

Therefore, an important order regarding the dress of the cavalry was signed by the King on 6 November 1671. It decreed that:

> His Majesty wishes that all cavalry troopers have buff jackets and good boots and that they all be clothed in good grey cloth lined with the same colour, except for those companies of His Majesty's regiments whose troopers will be dressed with dark blue cloth, as well as those of the mestre de camp companies of the said regiments; that all cavalry troopers have black hats, the [sword] belts and carbine [belts] be of buff [leather] and have the same width, and that the trumpets of the companies be dressed in the livery of the mestres de camp of the regiments in which they serve ...

While the above was certainly not followed rigorously, some artwork suggest that troopers having grey coats were to be seen. For instance a painting of the siege of Aardenburg in 1672 shows troopers wearing grey coats with red ribbons and their heads covered with black hats with silver lace edging the brims. The trumpeters wear a red livery and the officers have luxuriously decorated and silver-laced blue coats. On 25 March 1672, officers were forbidden to add gold or silver lace or embroidery on their coats, bandoliers, gloves or housings. As seen in much artwork, this was generally ignored by cavalry officers in spite of repeated orders into the early eighteenth century ...!

Boots were not often mentioned yet seen in almost every print and painting of the period as substantial and sturdy looking items whose tubular shape was topped by a wide protective knee guards, the shoe part being just as solid. It was made of thick leather, invariably black, that provided excellent protection from edged weapons in battle. These boots were very heavy so there were lighter versions, especially amongst officers, for more relaxed times.

Cavalry officers of the time were seemingly not keen to wear cuirasses. Nevertheless, Marshal Turenne felt it was a good item for them to have, and on 25 August 1673 informed Louvois that he had bought 150 at Frankfurt "to give to cavalry officers; nearly all having none, which can cause great prejudice" should many officers be wounded or killed because they did not have them. By 1675 it was noted that most officers fought without cuirasses and the King signed an order on 5 March to prevent their easily being wounded "as many had been in the last campaigns", they would henceforth wear cuirasses or else be considered disobedient. Many were and remained disobedient. On 1 February 1703, the order was again promulgated with the added specification that the cuirasses be pistol proof. The inspecting officers were to note any officers that did not have cuirasses.[17]

Not only were some not wishing to have cuirasses but, in the early 1680s, many cavalry officers were still not wearing uniforms. In May 1682 Louvois had already mentioned yet again the King's disapproval of useless luxury in clothing for all units in the army, notably concerning officers who ornamented their coats with gold and silver lace, wishing only that all officers of a regiment wear coats of the same colour. He further advised that if officers thought "they were pleasing His Majesty by adding fine or false gold and silver lace on the coats of sergeants and soldiers", they were much mistaken. He further disapproved of having velvet cuffs for sergeants as well as their buying ribbons for shoulders and hats, sashes for sergeants and soldiers "and making officers wear velvet breeches". All this was of course taken with a grain of salt by the concerned regimentals officers who basically continued to do as they pleased and follow the fashions of the day.[18]

It thus seems that cavalry officers were especially reticent. In June 1683, Louvois was writing General Montbron concerning "the intention of the King" that he was to warn the cavalry under his orders "that His Majesty desires that between now and next spring, the officers of each regiment be dressed in uniform and that their clothing be regulated in a manner that will cause them as little expense as possible". It was very clear that the Sun King henceforth wished to see all officers and men in a regiment wearing the same uniform. There were still some reluctant officers 15 years later: a royal order of 25 June 1698 again specified that "officers must be dressed in the same colours as the soldiers ...their hat will be edged with a gold or silver lace one inch wide ... All troopers must be given uniform cords to tie their hair behind [in a queue]. The hats will be held by hooks and eyes and must be worn at front one finger [wide] above the eyes..." Where the cloth to make the uniforms came from was another concern. To encourage French sheep herders and cloth manufacturers, the King further insisted that the material for uniforms should be made in France. By October 1686, the manufacturers could meet the demand and the Sun King ordered that henceforth the whole army, not only the cavalry, be clothed with uniforms made completely of French material.[19]

Most regiments eventually wore the grey coat specified in the 1671 instructions with red cuffs. The 1692 and 1702 lists mentions "colour of the cuffs and linings" when describing the coats. From what other sources there are, the colour of the lining could be either of the facing colour or grey. The royal regiments of course had blue as specified and nearly always with red cuffs and lining. The only exception, noted in the 1692 list, was the Duc de Noaille's Cavalry Regiment in red faced with red cuffs and lining. Naturally, these lists are not complete and there may have been other exceptions, but on the whole, the line cavalry of the Sun King was dressed in grey with red cuffs and in blue with red cuffs. Corfey's 1698 list and some probate inventories give the colour of the lace and buttons, but many of those are still unknown.

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[17] Turenne to Louvois 22 August 1673 in Rothwiller, *Histoire du Deuxième Régiment de Cuirassiers*, p.96.

[18] Rousset, *Histoire de Louvois*, Vol. 3, p.294. Louvois thought that paying up to 50 livres for a NCO's coat was especially reprehensible since it was the NCO who would eventually have to pay by deductions for the vanity of his captain.

[19] Rousset, *Histoire de Louvois*, Vol. 3, pp.295, 422. Rousset also mentions the efforts by the English and Dutch to smuggle counterfeit cloth into France, but this was countered on the whole successfully by severe fines as well as because French manufacturers could exceed the quality of foreign cloth.

Trumpeters and kettledrummers wore the livery of either the King or that of their Mestre de Camp. This was also true of trumpet and kettledrum banners which also had the coat of arms. The liveries of the royal family, princes and many marshals and senior officers are given in Volume 1 and a few others in the appendices and illustrations of this volume.

Weapons

For weapons, every trooper was basically armed with a sword as the primary weapon. A pair of pistols were the secondary weapons. The effective range of a pistol was about 15 metres so had to be fired at, say an infantry battalion, seconds before the clash of a charge leaving the trooper unarmed facing enemy muskets and bayonets. Thus the sword was infinitely better on such occasions and was the trooper's best weapon. Pistols were best used in the mêlée "hand-to-hand" fighting being first fired and then used like a hammer and even flung at an opponent. Carbines, which were added gradually from the mid sevententh century, were for firing at a distance and more useful for parties on patrol or else for combat on foot. As seen above, carabinier troopers had rifled carbines.[20]

Up to the middle of the seventeenth century, the cavalry sword was basically a solid *forte épée* (strong sword, but also called *sabre* at times) with a long and wide straight blade with or without a gut and sometimes marked to usually foreign makers, for instance "Sahagom" or "Toledo" from Spain, "Solingen" in Germany or "P" for Amsterdam. The hilt usually had an elaborate steel basket guard whose style had Venetian origins and sometimes called "Schiavones" by the French. In the middle of the seventeenth century appeared the elegant "Wallonne" sword whose steel hilt had a single branch knuckle bow with a lower shell guard pierced with small holes. The markings show the German and Dutch origins of this type of sword.

From the 1660s the Sun King and Louvois sought to have a more uniform type of sword whose blade was ordered to be at least 89.4 cm on 9 March 1676, although some surviving swords have blades 95 and 98 cm long. This type of sword was fairly standard and had an all brass guard with a single knuckle bow and a half shell. The same type of sword was carried by dragoons with a shorter 80 to 85 cm blade and also by infantry grenadiers. While some blades still came from Germany, the policy of making weapons in France now resulted in blades from Saint-Étienne makers as well as hilts from local artisans. The relative uniformity of this type of sword favoured its production in great number within a relatively short time. Although the single knuckle bow strong sword was widespread in the cavalry, surviving swords show that some regiments preferred

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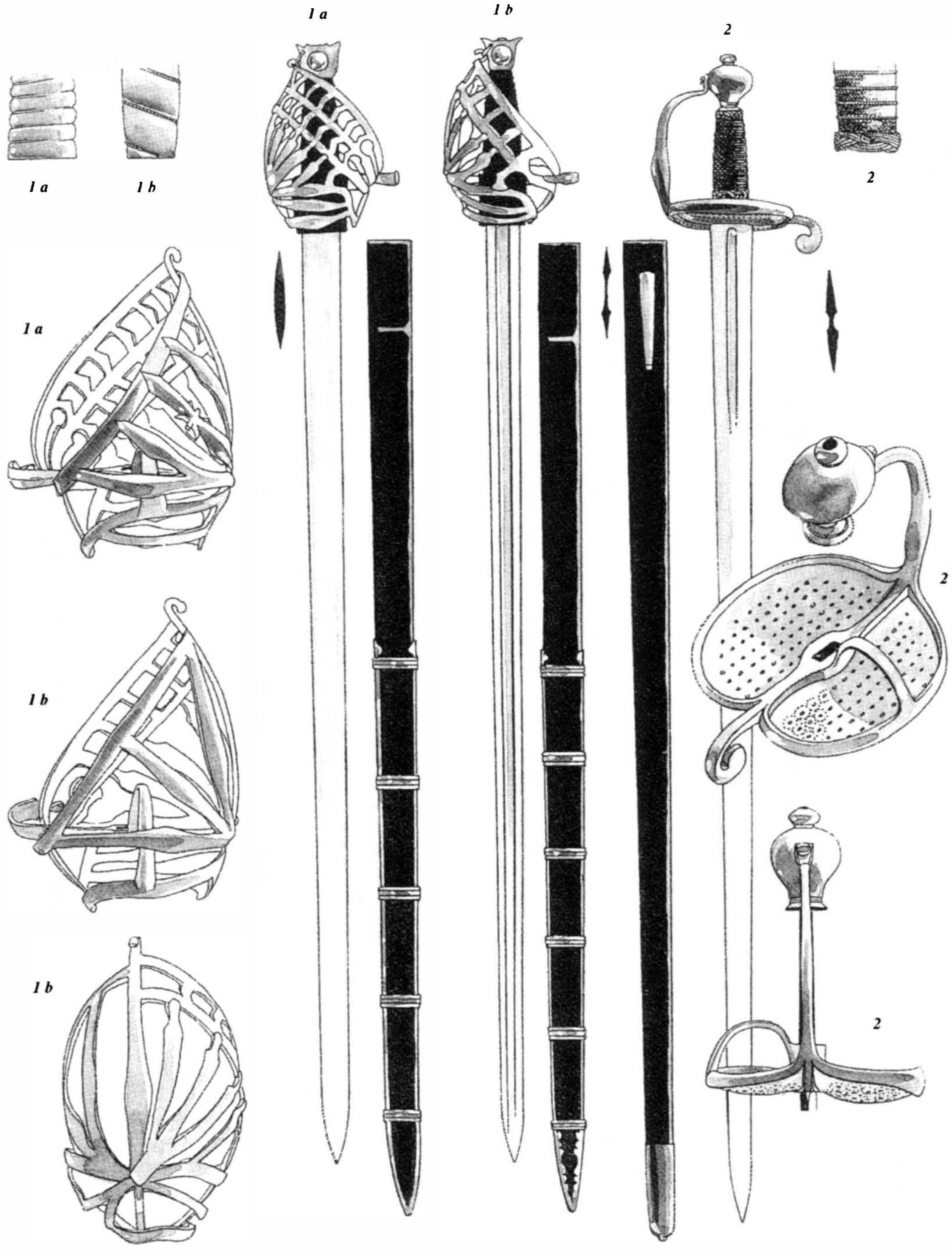
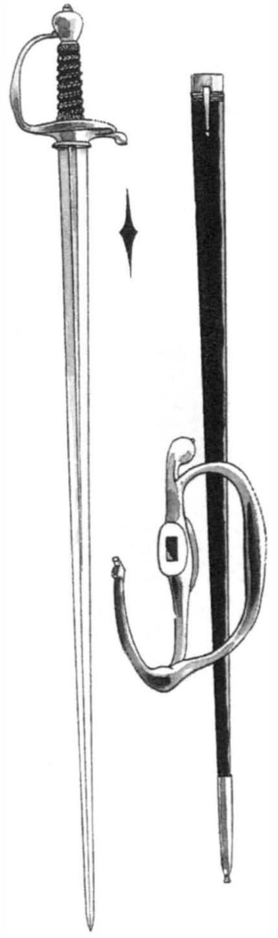
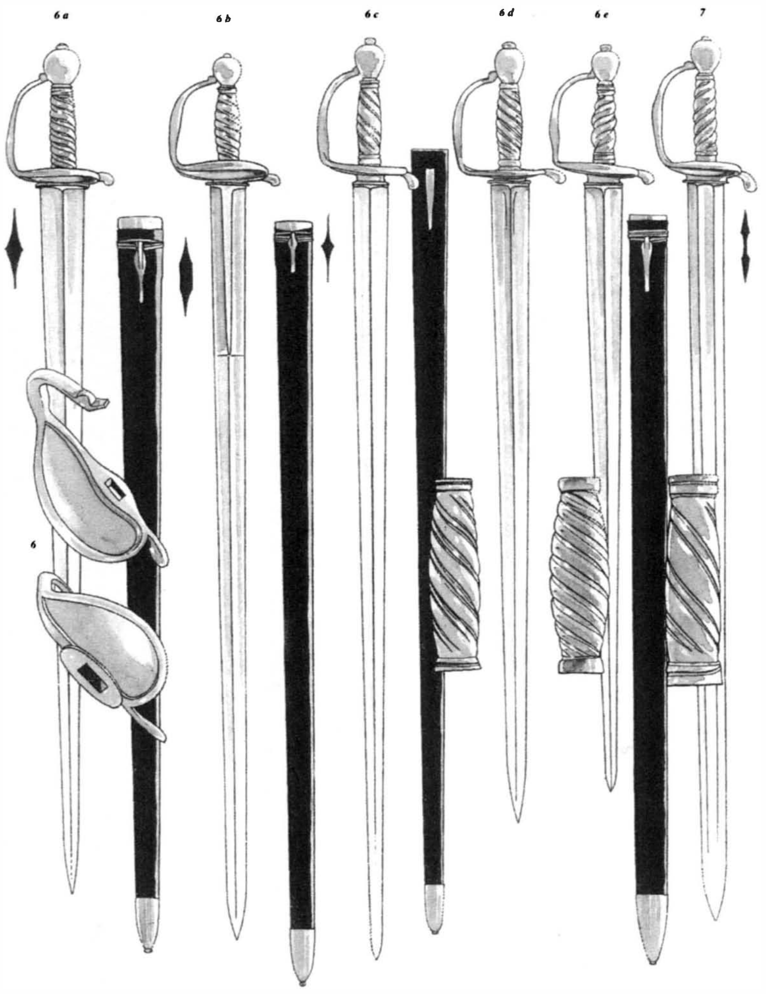
[20] B.P. Hugues, *Firepower Weapons Effectiveness on the Battlefield 1630-1850* (Staplehust, UK: Spellmount, 1997), p.13.



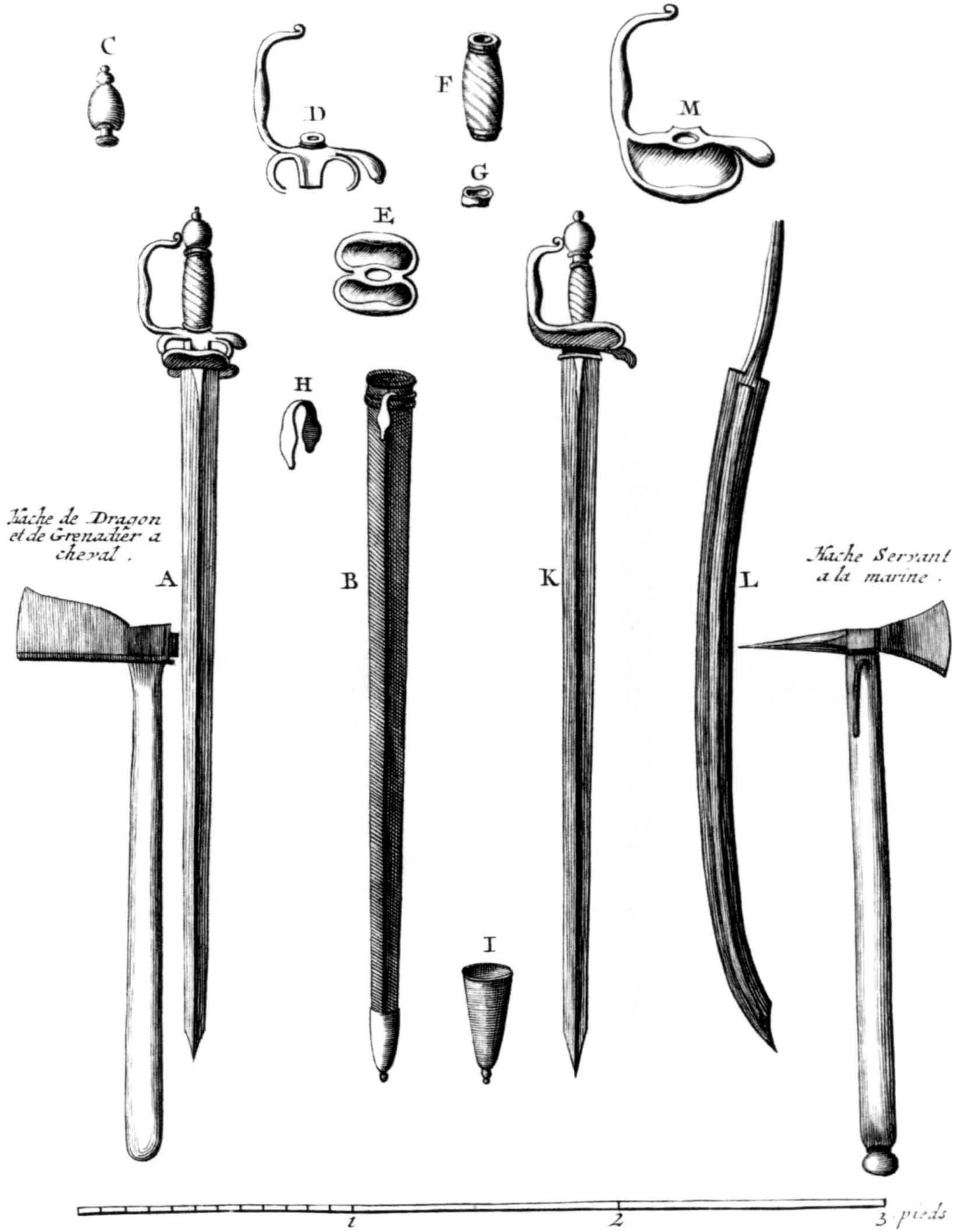
Line cavalry ***épées fortes*** (strong swords) of the Schiavone and Wallonne types, seventeenth century. The Schiavone type (1a, 1b, 1c) originated in sixteenth-century Venice and had a remarkable steel basket hilt that offered excellent protection for the hand. It was widely used by European cavalrymen including the French well into the third quarter of the seventeenth century. The pommel was of brass, the grip of leather although some might be of cast brass, the blades from 85 to 90 cm. The Wallonne cavalry sword (2) appeared in France during the middle of the seventeenth century. It had an all-iron hilt with a single knuckle bow and was an attractive weapon with its austere elegance, the blade at 95 cm. (Reproduced by the kind permission of the artist, Michel Pétard, from his book ***Des Sabres et des Épées***. Author's photo)



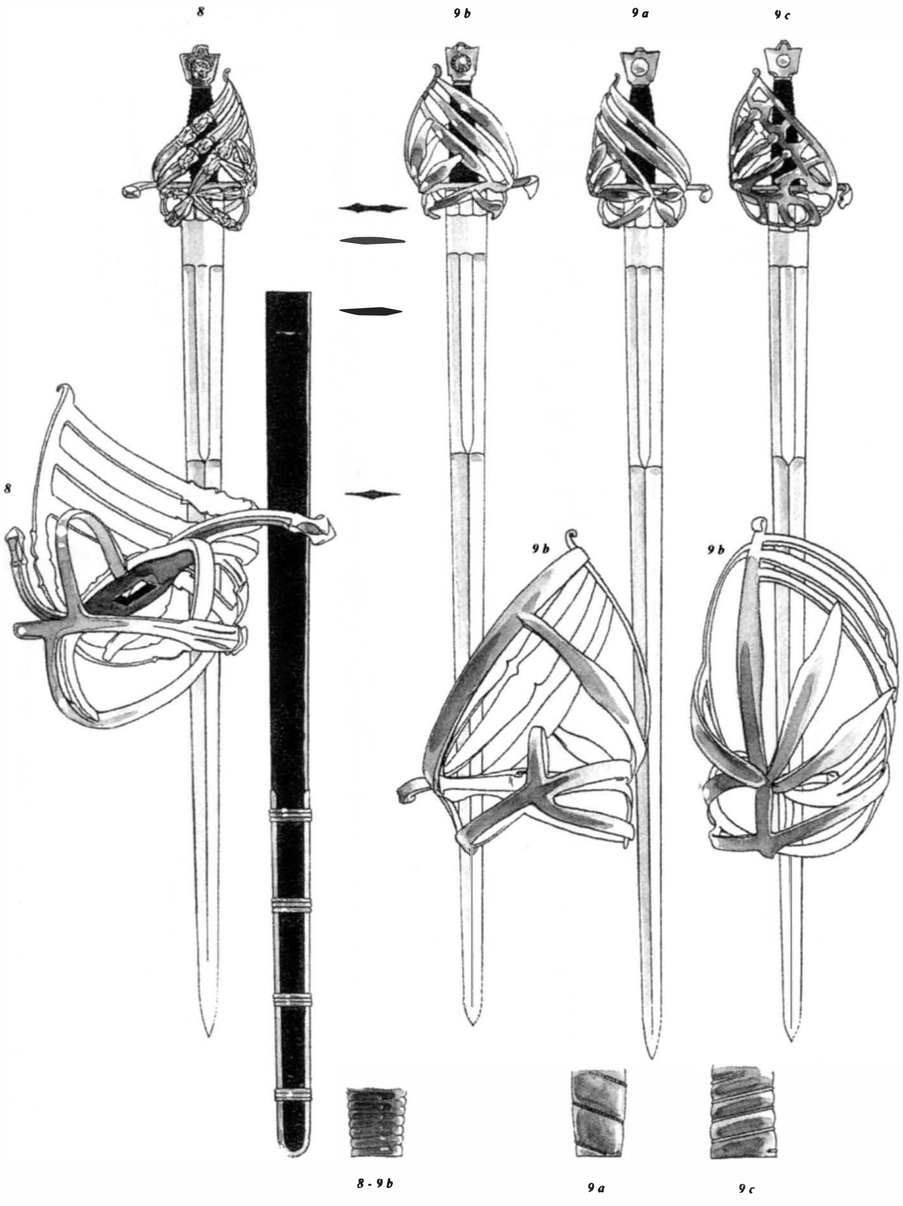
Above: Line cavalry épée forte (strong sword), *c.* 1670. This type was another popular style carried by troopers. The hilt and pommel is all steel with a brass wire grip. The blades vary at 90 to 100 cm. (Detail from a plate reproduced by the kind permission of the artist, Michel Pétard, from his book ***Des Sabres et des Épées***. Author's photo)



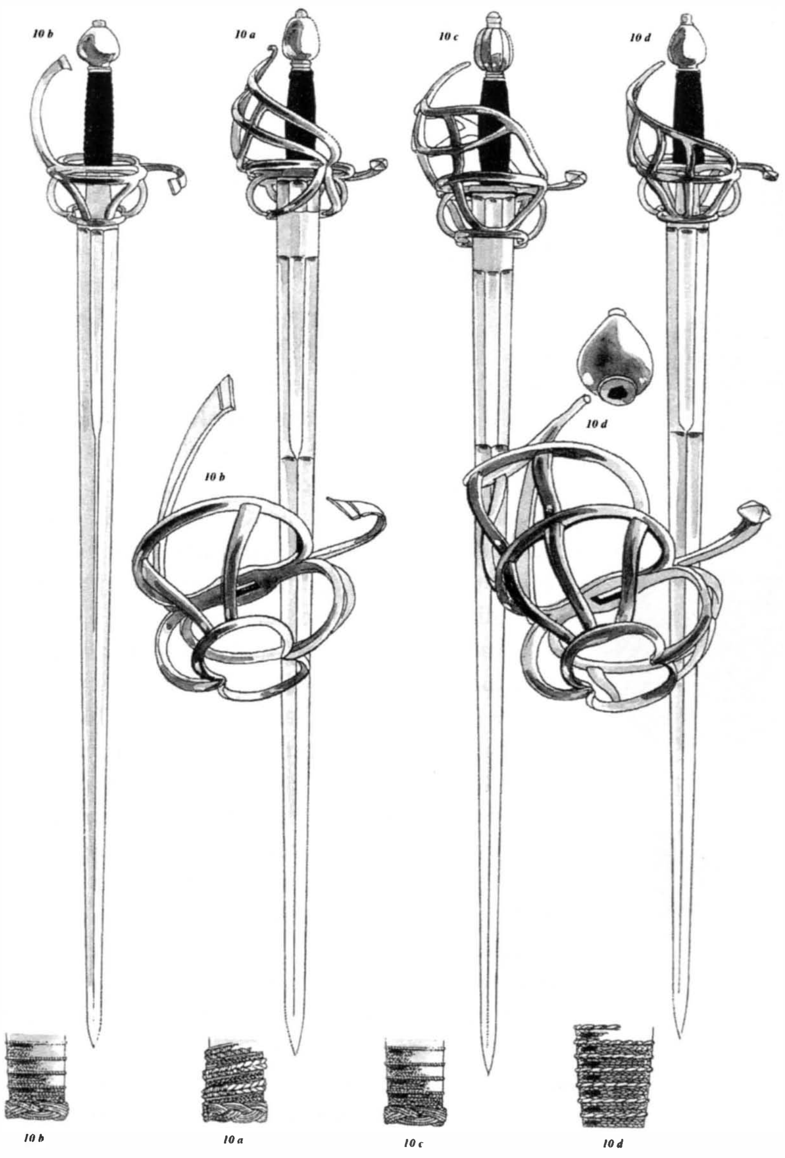
Above: Line cavalry and dragoon ***épées fortes*** (strong swords), ***c.*** 1680 to 1734. Three of these swords (from the left) were for line cavalrymen and (6a, 6b, 6c) followed more or less the 1676 regulation length of the blade at 89.4 cm, sometimes being longer at 95 or 98 cm. The next two were for dragoons and their blade was slightly shorter at 80 and 85 cm (6d, 6e), the last being marked for Tessé's Dragoons that became Mestre de Camp Général in 1684. All had cast brass hilts and grips that favoured large numbers being produced faster. The sixth sword (7) marked as the "Pessac" (actually Paysac Dragoons of *c.* 1693–1699) was a variant type because of its better blade and hilt. (Reproduced by the kind permission of the artist, Michel Pétard, from his book ***Des Sabres et des Épées***. Author's photo)


C
D
F
M
G
E
H
Hache de Dragon et de Grenadier a cheval.
A
B
K
L
Hache Servant a la marine.
I
1
2
3 pieds

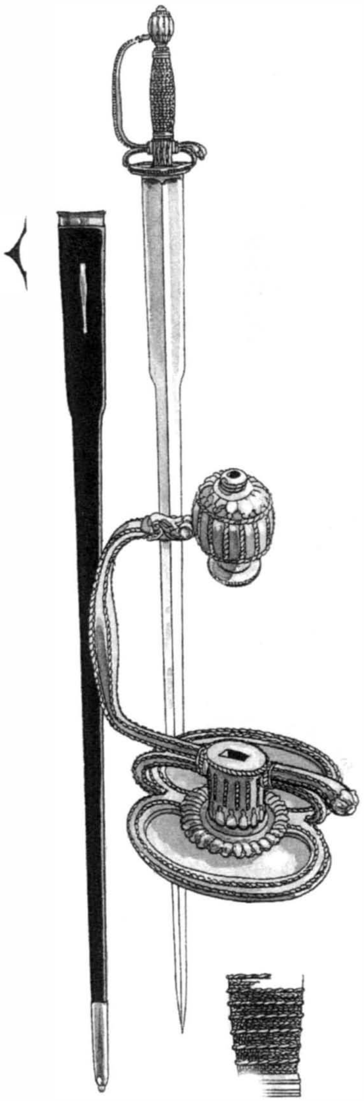
Swords, sabres and axes, late seventeenth century. A: the basic type of infantry sword with its brass hilt was also seen carried by line cavalry troopers and dragoons with a sturdier blade of about 85 to 95 cm long making it an efficient ***épée forte***. B: sword scabbard. C: sword pommel. D: hilt with knuckle bow and pas d'âne. E: sword guard. F: cast brass grip. G: virolle. H: scabbard hook. I: scabbard tip. K: cavalry trooper's sabre with double cutting edges. L: curved sabre blade. M: sabre hilt. At lower left: axe for dragoons and horse grenadiers. At lower right: naval axe. (Print from Saint-Rémy's 1697 Mémoires d'artillerie. Author's photo)



Schiavone-type line cavalry swords of the era of the War of the League of Augsburg, 1688–1698. From the left (8) a sword marked for the Montpeyroux Line Cavalry Regiment; (9b) marked for the Montberon Line Cavalry Regiment; (9a) marked for the Molac Line Cavalry Regiment; (9c) marked for the Ligondez Line Cavalry Regiment. All have a steel basket hilt, brass pommels and grips. (Reproduced by the kind permission of the artist, Michel Pétard, from his book ***Des Sabres et des Épées***. Author's photo)



Nonier type line cavalry swords, 1688–1713. The swordmaker Nonier in Besançon supplied a number of regiments with this type of sword that offered a hilt with good protection for the hand mounted on sturdy Solingen blades. From left (10b) with an 86 cm blade; (10a) marked for the Cathulan Line Cavalry Regiment; (10c) marked for the Sheldon (Irish) Line Cavalry Regiment; (10d) unmarked for a unit, has a 88 cm blade. All blades are marked ***Vive le Roy*** with Nonier's mark. All swords are totally of steel. (Michel Pétard, from his book ***Des Sabres et des Épées***. Author's photo)



Officer's sword of the Konigsmarck (German) Line Cavalry Regiment, *c.* 1671–1688. Such a weapon with a good identification is quite rare in that early era; this fine cavalry officer's sword is marked for the Konigsmarck (German) Line Cavalry Regiment which became Royal-Allemand from 1688. The elaborate cast brass hilt is gilded as is its gilt wire grip. The blade is 90 cm by 4 cm at its widest and is marked to the regiment with also ***Vaincre ou Mourir*** (Victory or Death). (Detail from a plate reproduced by the kind permission of the artist, Michel Pétard, from his book ***Des Sabres et des Épées***. Author's photo).

a steel-hilted basket type because it protected the hand better. Officers had more refined versions of these models. The sword was carried by a buff shoulder belt until the mid 1680s when this was replaced by a buff waist belt.[21]

The carbine appears to have been more or less present until the royal order of 9 March 1676 that prescribed that each trooper was to have one, along with the pair of pistols and sword. This did not vary thereafter. The details of the line cavalry carbines certainly varied since there was no regulation model until 1733; they were shorter than infantry muskets and, initially, had matchlocks that were gradually converted to flintlocks possibly over the last decades of the seventeenth century, had a smaller undefined calibre and did not have bayonets. Even Saint-Rémy did not have much to say about carbines in 1697 except that they were the same overall length as rifled carbines at four feet (old French measure equivalent: 1,299.4 mm) and had a hook and ring on the shoulder belt to sling them. The "fine and common" pistols he showed had a 379 mm long barrel and a calibre of 16.5 mm, which seems to indicate this was the general trend for line cavalry.[22]

In 1704, a *Mémoire* defined the sword as having a blade two fingers wide and 33 inches long (French measure), its guard made of brass with a grip covered by brass wire; smoothbore carbine as having a barrel of 30 inches (812 mm) with the lock preferably made at Abbeville by one Gergibus said to be one of the best artisans; rifled carbines had a 32 inch (866 mm) barrel; pistols had 15 inch (406 mm) long barrels. As can be seen, there was indeed variety, but it was equally true in all French armies of the Sun King and the armies of his opponents too. These weapons must be considered as the best available to soldiers anywhere in their day. This was not yet an age of hyper-precise measures and regulation patterns.[23]

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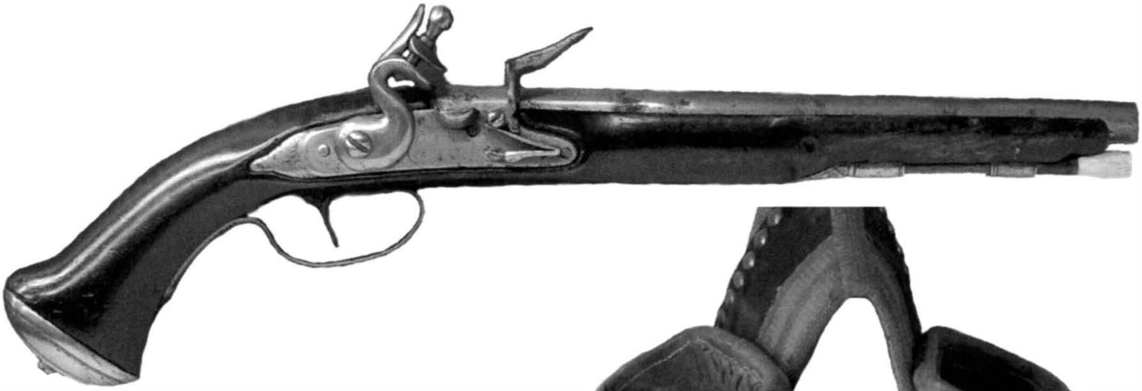
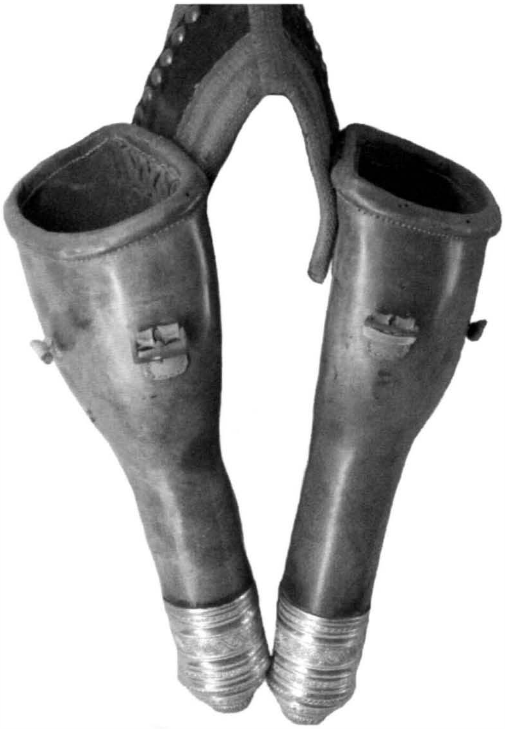
[21] Michel Pétard, *Des sabres et des épées* (Nantes: Éditions du Canonnier, 1999), Vol. 1, pp.26–35, 42–45.

[22] Saint-Rémy, *Mémoires d'Artillerie*, Vol. 1, p.285.

[23] Hall, Boeri and Roumegoux, *Standards and Uniforms of French Cavalry under Louis XIV 1688–1714*, pp.29–31 reproducing a 1704 'Mémoire de ce qui put coûter un cavalier tout monté' (memo of what a fully mounted trooper can cost).



Above: A military pistol, mid seveteenth century. This fairly plain pistol would have been a type carried by a cavalry trooper. This example has polished steel furnishings. (Courtesy National Historic Sites, Park Canada)

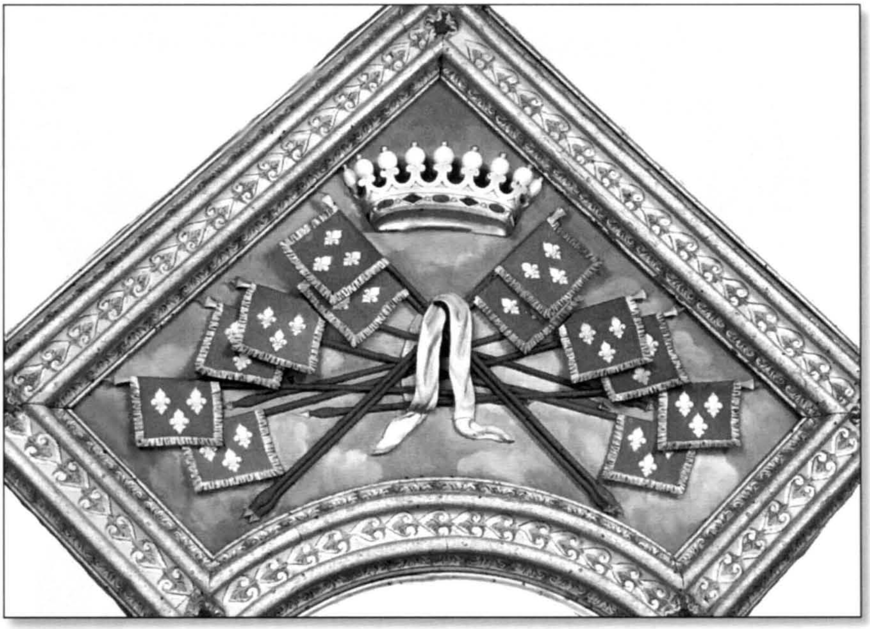


Right: A pair of officer's pistol holsters. Leather with gilded tips, link of heavy fabric partly covered with crimson velvet edged with brass studs. Such holsters did not change greatly from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries since they held flintlock pistols whose shape, on the whole, did not change a lot either. It was covered by a cloth cover with a hole on top. (Grandes écuries du Prince de Condé, Chantilly. Author's photo)

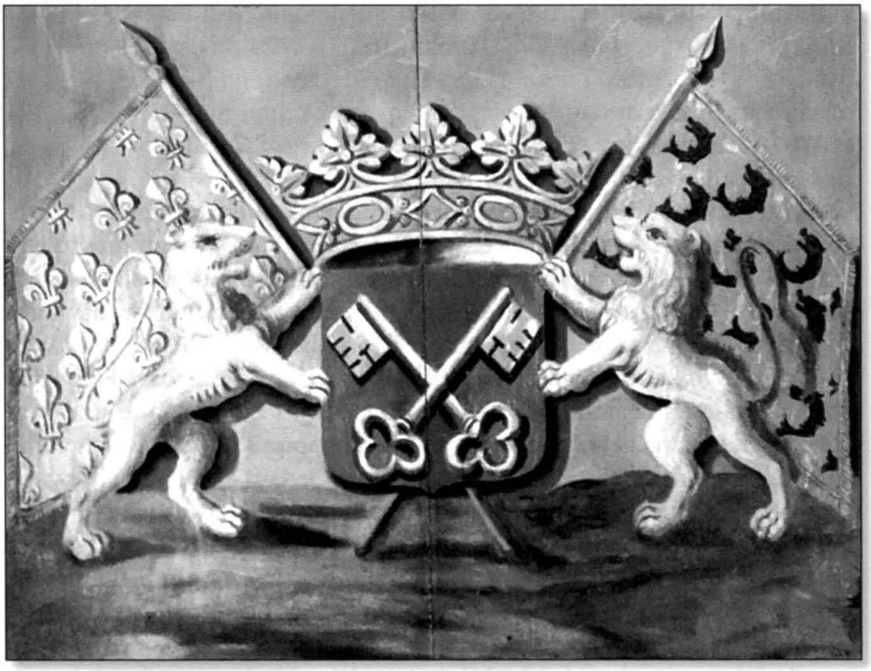
Standards

Little seems to be known of the line cavalry standards before the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It appears they were always square and, in the reign of Louis XIII and the minority of Louis XIV, often blue with gold lilies if one relies on what artwork that shows them. There may have been other designs also, but it seems that from the 1660s, the standard with the sun and symbolic designs in central panels became the favoured type that were undoubtedly promoted by the Sun King. They were also quite luxurious according to the prints of two white standards captured by the Dutch at the battle of Senef in 1674 (see illustrations). The "great problem brought by the standards and guidons," wrote Pierre Charrié as premier historian of French military colours, "is the [lack] of regimental designation. In many cases, it is total ignorance, the authors of the military registers not having given themselves the trouble to furnish the least description of the side [behind] the sun." The designs were decided by the regimental commanders and no record of these were kept by the Ministry of War. The result is that it is next to impossible to identify renderings or surviving standards or guidons to a regiment unless there is supporting data.

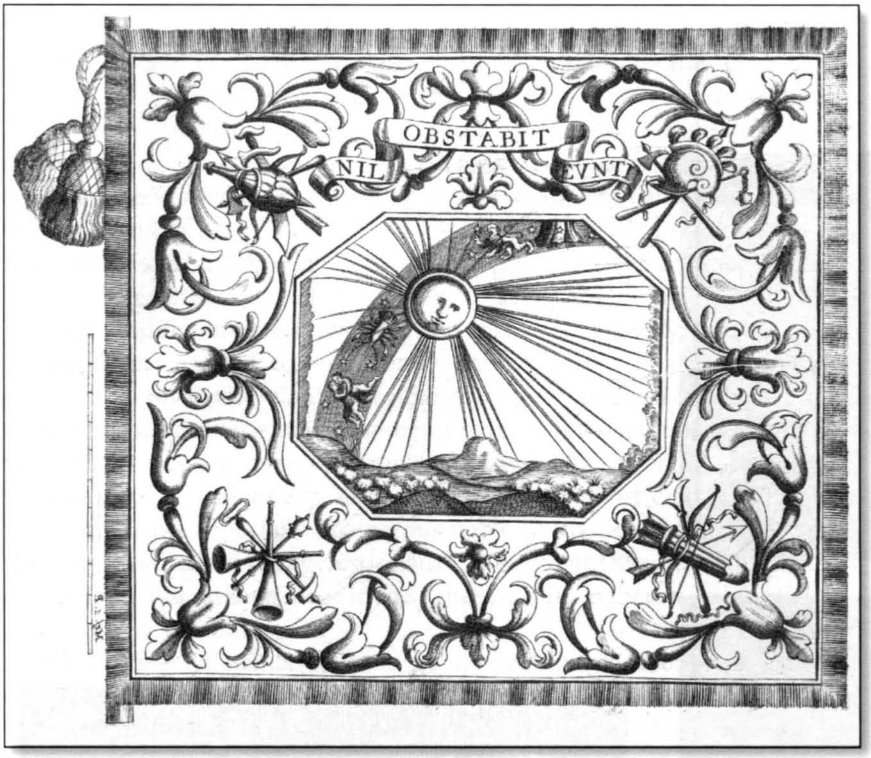
Insofar as colour hues of the standards, the situations is a semi-flexible one. Blue was the prescribed colour of the royal regiments. They basically



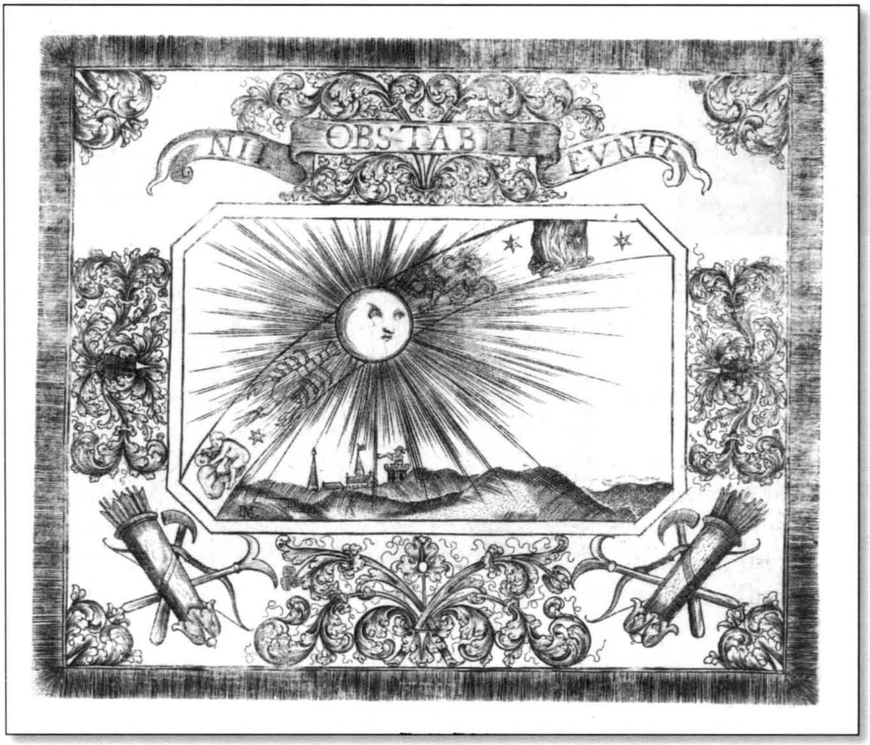
Cavalry standards arranged in a trophy, mid seventeenth century. Gold lilies on blue, silver fringes. Being in the Château of Bussy-Rabutin, these have a strong chance of being associated with the ***Maitre de camp général*** cavalry regiment led by Lieutenant General Roger de Bussy, Comte de Rabutin, that existed from 1653 to 1659. (Trophy decoration of a ceiling in the Château de Bussy-Rabutin, Burgundy. Author's photo)



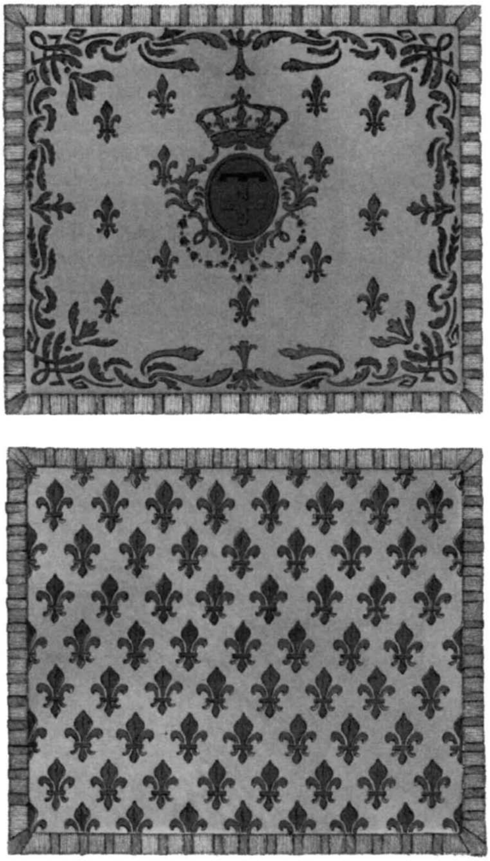
The coat of arms of the count of Clermont-Tonnerre, seventeenth century. His crest would have emblazoned the standards, trumpet banners and kettledrum banners of his cavalry unit. This could have been the Clermont regiments of 1651–1652, 1689–1702 or 1709–1713. The standards next to the lion supporters were apparently not regimental. (Mural painting at the Chateau d'Ancy-le-Franc, Burgundy. Author's photo)



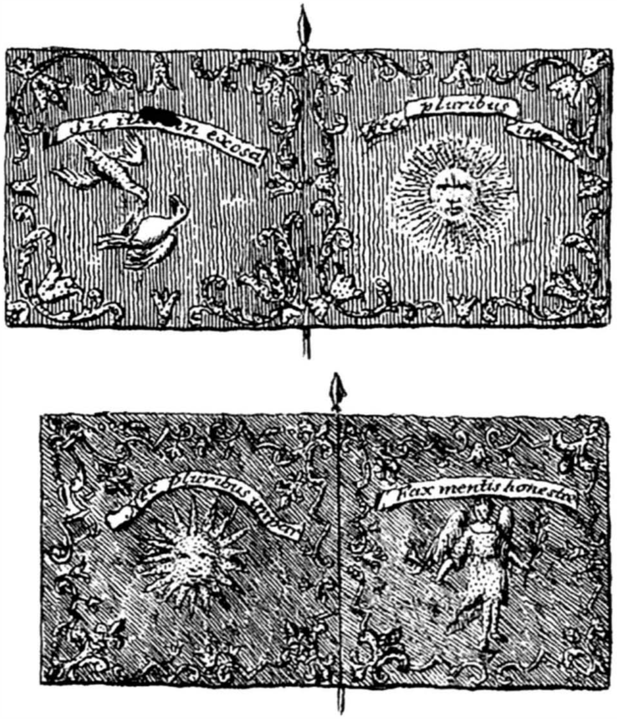
French cavalry standard captured by the Dutch at Senef, 1674. This print shows "the white royal standard of France" featuring the sun projecting its rays over a hilly countryside in the central panel. The motto ***Nil obstabit eunti*** (no obstacle can prevent) is above surrounded by embroidered trophies and scrolls. The fringes might be of two colours, possibly gold and silver as was often the case with embroidery. (Courtesy Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. RP-P-OB-82.430)



French cavalry standard captured by the Dutch at Senef, 1674. This engraving shows another "the white royal standard of France" with the sun over a small town in a hilly setting at the centre, the motto ***Nil obstabit eunti*** (no obstacle can prevent) above surrounded by embroidered trophies and scrolls. This and print RP-P-OB-82.430 are amongst the earliest verifiable known renderings of standards. (Courtesy Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. RP-P-OB-82.431)



Royal-Piémont Cavalerie standards, 1671–1690. Both sides are shown. At top, blue field with gold lilies and arms of Piémont (silver cross on red, blue bar), gold and silver embroidery and fringes; at bottom, blue field with gold lilies, gold and silver fringes. (Print in E. Hache's 1890 ***Historique du 23e dragons***. Author's photo)



Two French line cavalry standard of unknown units said to have been captured at the battle of Oudenaarde in 1708. (Unsigned watercolour of the period. Courtesy Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, BI-B-FM-071-107) had two types of standards: those that had both sides with the sun with the royal motto and the lilies, and those that had on one side the sun with the royal motto and a lily at each corner, the other side being strewn with lilies. The senior company of the Colonel Général Regiment had white and its other standards bore the commander's coat of arms. The Mestre de Camp Général Regiment had one red standard strewn with small gold flames and the other standards with the coat of arms of the commander. The Commissaire Général Regiment had a blue standard and the others red with the commanders coat of arms. Most other line regiments seem to have chosen red.

Another difficulty concerns what and if changes actually occurred when the regiment changed commanders. Contrary to guard, Gendarmerie de France and royal line cavalry regiments whose standard patterns always remained the same, the other regiments would, in theory, change standards when there was a change of command. Having six or eight embroidered standards made was an expensive proposition for most commanders who were usually not especially prosperous noble gentlemen. So it might take a while for standards to change, especially if they did not have the commander's coat of arms, but rather a scene in the panels. Again, as there were no registers kept, this remains unknown.

The number of standards could be several per squadron until an order of 15 November 1679 prescribed one standard per squadron. This changed following an order of 1 February 1689 that allowed two standards per squadron in the livery colours of the regiment's mestre de camp carried by the cornets of the two senior companies of each squadron. As for the size of standards, it ranged from about 50 to 60 cm square.[24]

Saddlery

This essential subject for any study concerning cavalry can fill many volumes. We evoke the main features of what horse equipment was like at the time of the Sun King's reign. The four basic types of saddles were explained and illustrated in François Robichon de La Guérinière's (1688–1751) *L'École de Cavalerie*. He was a royal riding master from 1715 and while his treatise was published 18 years after the passing of Louis XIV, he gave descriptions of what was used in the past century.[25]

Basically, all saddles were made with a wooden arch frame that was wider at its rear to accommodate the seat of the rider. Saddle seats were made of leather, of a dark or reddish brown hue, with padding and, for the more elaborate ones intended for officers, often covered with velvet, the colour of which seems to have been universally of a crimson hue. The earlier seventeenth-century saddles had front and back elevation to fit the rider snugly in the seat, but this became less acute in the second half of the century.

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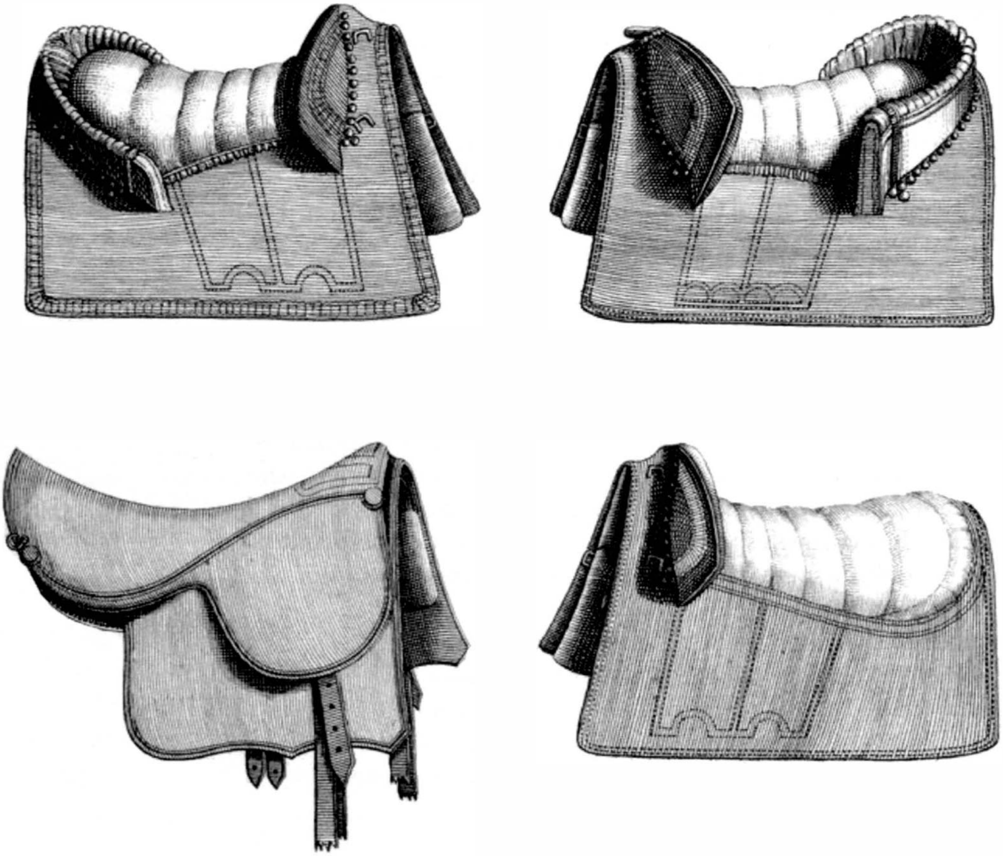
[24] Pierre Charrié, *Drapeaux et étendards du roi* (Paris: Léopard d'or, 1989), pp.115–122, 129.

[25] François Robichon de La Guérinière, École de Cavalerie (Paris: J. Collombat, 1733), pp.50–51. They were also described in F.-A. de Garsault, *Le nouveau parfait maréchal* (1741).



The main types of saddles used in the last half of the seventeenth and much of the eighteenth centuries. Top left: ***à la Royale*** (Royal); top right: à ***Picquer***, bottom left: ***Anglaise*** (English); bottom right: ***Rase*** (low or flat). (Print adapted from La Gérinière. Author's photo)

The first and most important type for our topic was the *Royale* saddle which was "the most [commonly] used, either for war, or for campaign" which meant here for long riding on trips across the countryside. It had several variations over the years and some earlier types had pommels, but these were eventually thought to be no longer useful as they might hurt the rider if he fell. According to Saunier, the *Royale* saddle had been "invented for the for the commodity of Louis XIV" although it might be fairer to observe that it was basically the older saddle that had been adjusted to have a more comfortable seat following an observation of the Sun King. Another factor was that a snug seat was surely important in the days when troopers wore heavy armour, but movement became important when fighting without armour. The seats therefore were adjusted to allow movement.[26]

The *Picquer* saddle was used for the training, schooling and dressage of young horses and for riding demonstrations. Some would have been essential for the riding masters in any unit. The *Anglaise* (English) and *Rase* saddles were used for hunting, short rides and racing. The English saddle was the lightest, but La Guérinière felt that a rider "did not have the advantages [he appears to have meant comfort] as with the others". They

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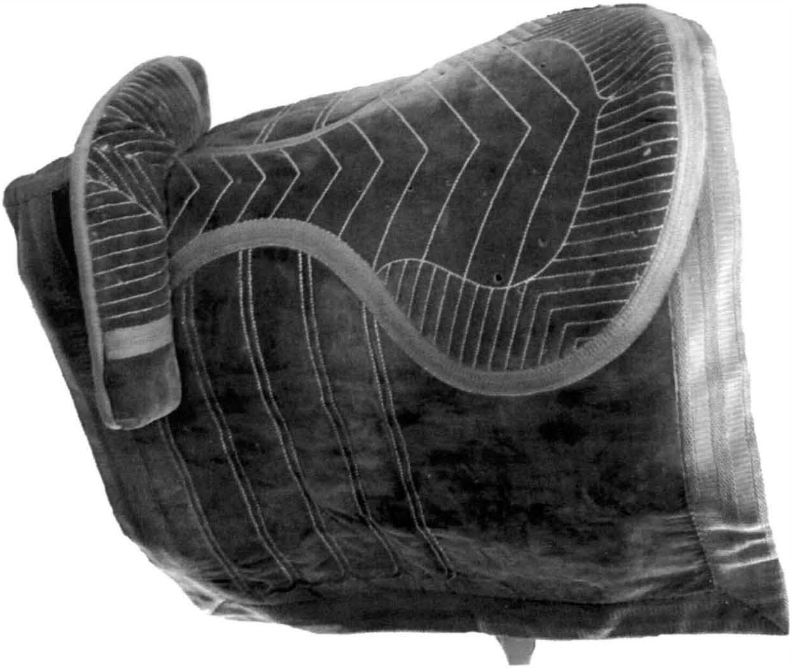
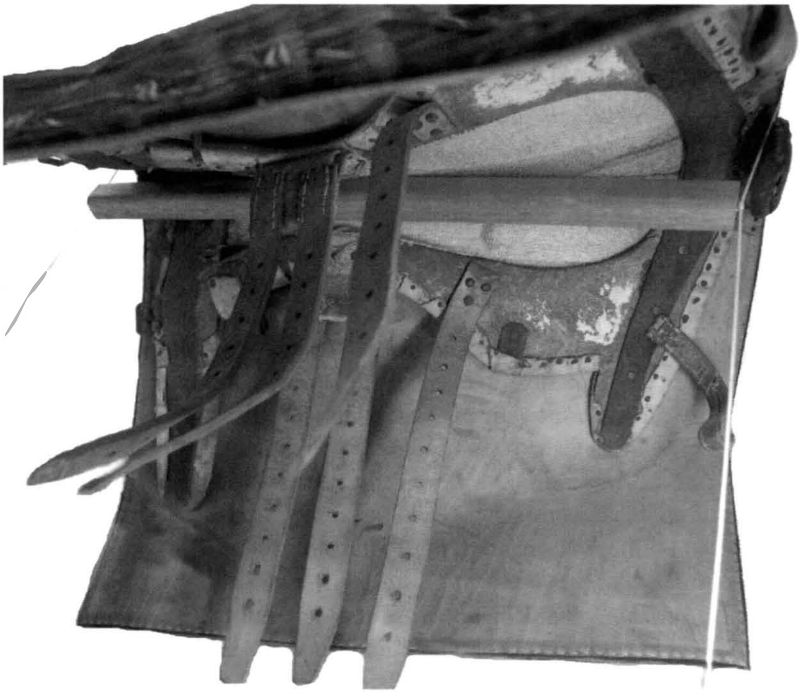
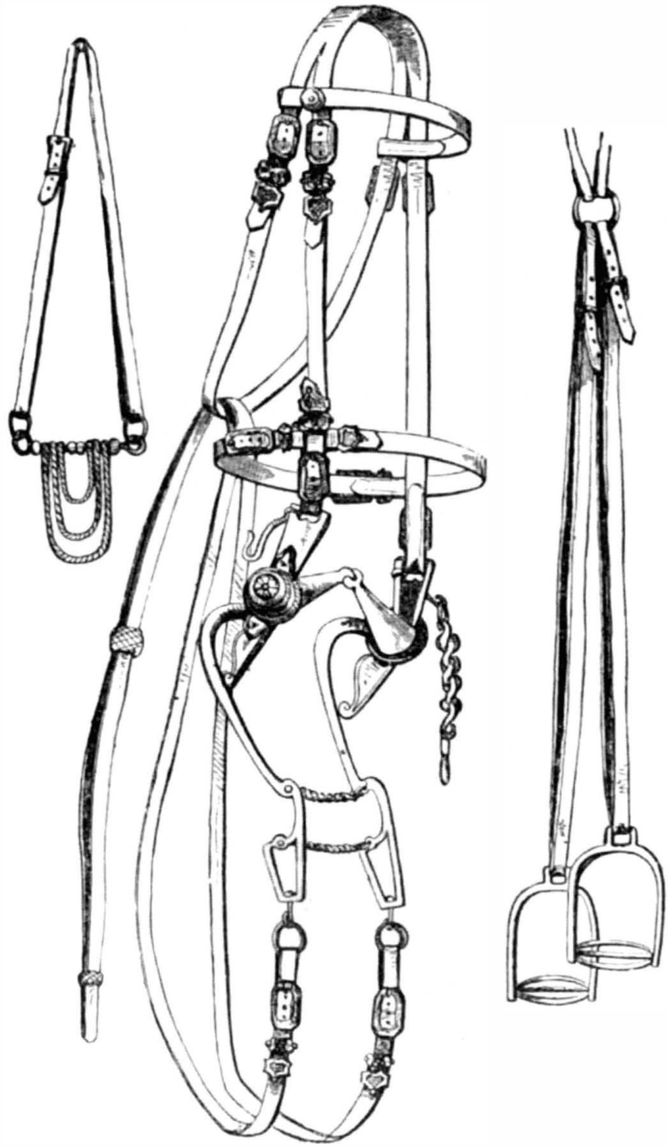
[26] Gaspard de Saunier, *L'art de la cavalerie* (Paris: Jombert, 1756), p.47.



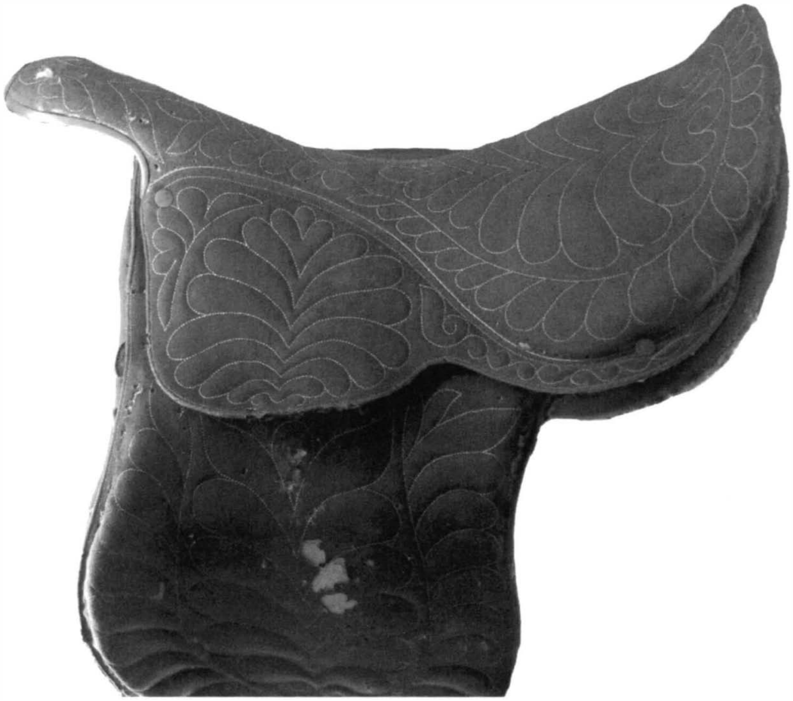
Top view of a ***Royale*** saddle. Such saddles could have variations in details as there was no regulation pattern. This one was obviously made for a relatively prosperous gentleman and/or officer. The seat, which may have been made specifically for the comfort of its owner, was handsomely covered with elaborately worked padding covered in crimson velvet. (Grandes écuries du Prince de Condé, Chantilly. Author's photo)



Underneath view of a ***Royale*** saddle. This rare glimpse shows the wooden arch frame onto which the leather straps were fixed; it was covered by the rectangular leather base of the saddle. The stick with cords at each end is not part of the saddle but an elevating devise to display it. (Grandes écuries du Prince de Condé, Chantilly. Author's photo)



Typical French cavalry bridles, bits and stirrups, later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. (Print from Choppin's La Cavalerie française. Author's photo)



Side view of an ***Anglaise*** saddle. The "English" saddle was also becoming popular in France by the late seventeenth and early eighteent centuries. This particular example was more luxurious, its padding covered elaborately worked in crimson velvet. It was meant for a gentleman who had good chances of being an officer, in which case it was likely one of the saddles brought on campaign along with several of his horses. (Grandes écuries du Prince de Condé, Chantilly. Author's photo)

seem to have become known in the Sun King's France because of interest in horse racing as practised in England. According to Saunier, this coincided with the arrival of exiled British King James II with his suite in 1691. Many of the accompanying lords wanted to hunt as in England and Ireland and had come with their "small English saddle" that they eventually laid aside for the Royale saddle due to the area's very rough terrain, but the English saddle definitely became popular in France thereafter.[27]

It must be remarked that there were then no regulation saddles or other horse furniture imposed. It was a matter of consensus amongst horsemen. While the *Royale* type of saddle was certainly the usual saddle for cavalry regiments, the other types might well be found at a cavalry regimental camp. Some *Picque*r saddles would have been useful to break and train young horses, some of which must have reached the regiment in a rather wild state. Some officers likely wanted a few *Rase* and *English* saddles, especially those who had three or more horses with them.

Another variation appeared at the end of the seventeenth century with Hungarian hussars who came with their light cavalry saddles (see Chapter 15).

Bridles could also be varied although they generally seem to have been along the lines of those shown in our illustrations. Certain features such as restraining chains or cords might be seen for some and not present for others. Judging from period publications, these had often many plates on the bits in the horse's mouth as there was always a concern that it should not be injured otherwise the horse was next to unusable and could be dangerously aggressive. In the main, these bits were in two linked parts although the "English" type used by some was in three parts and said to be better. Straps would be embellished with brass bosses and buckles, sometimes gilded or silvered for officers.

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[27] Saunier, *L'art de la cavalerie*, pp.46–47.

14

Dragoons

There were dragoon-like formations in the French armies since the sixteenth century in the form of cavalrymen who were dressed with a minimum of armour and armed with muskets. There were two regiments of officially termed "mounted fusiliers" raised in 1635 that were commonly called "dragoons", but these units were also called "carabins" as well. One, the Fusiliers à cheval de son Éminence, was at Rocroi in 1643 and this led some historians to claim it as the origin of dragoons in the French army although it was disbanded in 1646. The Dragons-étrangers du Cardinal raised in Germany at the end of 1645 were converted to line cavalry 23 May 1649. The first fairly genuine dragoon regiment appears to have been the one raised in Lorraine by Marshal de La Ferté in 1645 and it took part in several campaigns and sieges. In 1656 another dragoon regiment was raised, initially titled Dragons étrangers du Roi and eventually just called Dragons du Roi. La Ferté's dragoons were incorporated into it on 30 September 1660.[1]

With the Dragons du Roi, dragoons had arrived in the French army as the type of tactical unit that could serve as both infantry and mounted troops. Their initial purpose in the 1660s was to act, thanks to their horses, as quickly moving infantry that would dismount to fight the enemy on foot as infantry. They were then officially regarded as part of the line infantry. Their equipment and clothing was something of a mixture of both the foot and the horsed troops. The regiment's usefulness was appreciated during the War of Devolution so that on 2 January 1668, the King decided, with the favourable advice of Louvois, to create dragoons as a specific tactical arm in the French army and proceeded to institute, on 2 April, a venal post of Colonel Général des Dragons. The existing Dragons du Roi was expanded and renamed Royal-Dragons while the new Colonel Général des Dragons Regiment was organised, the remaining two companies of the Carabins du Roi being merged into it. Both regiments were formed from 27 January 1668, the strength of each being 16 companies of 60 men each.

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[1] Choppin, *Histoire générale des dragons depuis leur origine jusqu'à l'Empire* and Susane, *Histoire de la Cavalerie*, Vol. 2, are the main source for this section on dragoons unless otherwise footnoted.

The post of Colonel Général des Dragons came with the Colonel Général des Dragons Regiment and a staff which served as the État-Major (General Staff) of dragoon regiments. It consisted of a *maréchal des logis*, a secretary, a prévost and his lieutenant, an exempt, a scribe, five archers, a surgeon and a trumpeter.

From that time, the post of Colonel Général des Dragons was filled by:

Antoine-Nompar de Caumont de Puyguilhem, Duc de Lauzun, 2 April 1668
Nicolas d'Argouges, Marquis de Rannes, 28 July 1669
Louis-François, Duc de Boufflers, 26 August 1678 (marshal in 1693)
René de Froulay, Comte de Tessé, 29 April 1692 (marshal in 1703)
Antoine de Gramont, Duc de Guiche, 25 March 1703 (marshal in 1724)

A Peculiar Colonel Général des Dragons

Of the above, Antoine-Nompar de Caumont de Puyguilhem, Duc de Lauzun (1632–1723) certainly stands out as a "character". He was mestre de camp of the Dragons du Roi Regiment since 1658 and also captain in a company of the Gentilhommes à Bec de Corbin honour unit in the royal guard; most of all, he was a favourite of the Sun King. Brilliant, temperamental, utterly charming, a ladies man, independent-minded, loyal to his royal master, rebellious and effective unit commander could be some of the adjectives to describe Lauzun. He certainly had a colourful life in the company of some of the great persons of his era. Being a master of gallant behaviour with ladies at court, he helped the young Sun King as a facilitator in the royal "affairs of the heart" and their relation could be summed up as a close friendship that would fall into disagreements, jealousies, arguments and tantrums that could have dire consequences for Lauzun at times, but, eventually, all was always forgiven between the two men. They were indispensable to each other.

An early example of this tumultuous relation came in 1665 when Lauzun was in love with the Princess of Monaco. Then the King ordered him to join his dragoon regiment in Picardie. Lauzun thought the Sun King had eyes for the princess and was in no mood to share her favours so he flatly refused to go. The King had him arrested and shut in the Bastille for a few months. He was then involved in the War of Devolution where he led his dragoons brilliantly in the invasion and conquest of Franche-Comté. The tactical advantages of dragoons were proven and the delighted Sun King then made his friend Colonel Général des Dragons on 2 April 1668. Things turned sour again. After a terrible dispute with the King, he was demoted from the post of Colonel Général and sent to cool down his hot temper in the Bastille. He was soon back at court in grace with the King until Louis forbade his well publicised upcoming marriage in December 1670 with *La Grande*

Mademoiselle causing another royal scandal (see also Volume 1, pp.20–21 and 75 and also Chapter 3 of this volume).[2]

The post of Colonel Général remained and was passed on to other officer-courtiers as seen above. The prerogatives and honours due to a Colonel Général were many. He was to enjoy "the same honours, authorities, privileges, exemptions, franchises, immunities" of other senior officers of the cavalry. The senior company of the regiment was his own. Perhaps even at these early times, its troopers were allowed to wear aiguillettes on their coats and be mounted on grey horses. It was also the company that had the white guidon of the Colonel Général des Dragons, which only saluted the king, the princes of the royal family, the Colonel Général, the marshals of France and army generals. That company also had an extra captain-lieutenant, a sub-lieutenant and a cornet. The dragoons of all regiments were to salute the Colonel Général with their weapons and their guidons while trumpets were sounded. When he reviewed a regiment, the dragoons had to hold their muskets high. Other distinctions were partly shared with the Mestre de Camp Général des Dragons as outlined below.[3]

Another venal post, that of Mestre de Camp Général des Dragons was created in March 1674, this time at the behest of another successful if somewhat less colourful soldier-courtier, the Comte de Tessé who had raised and led Tessé's Dragoons since 25 March 1674. It took a decade, but Tessé wanted have a grander title than just mestre de camp of his regiments and, recalling that the old venal post of Mestre de Camp Général des Carabins had not been abolished, successfully convinced the Sun King to change the name if he purchased the post and the deal was struck in 1684. The Sun King's Mestre de Camp Général des Dragons were:

René de Froulay, Comte de Tessé, 17 December 1684
Louis, Comte de Mailly, 29 August 1692
Antoine de Gramont, Duc de Guiche, 11 March 1696
Gabriel-Étienne-Louis Texier, Marquis d'Hautefeuille, 25 March 1703
Louis Fouquet, Comte de Bellisle, 5 July 1709

It perhaps made more sense to have such a post because the number of dragoon regiments had greatly augmented. For Tessé's Dragoons, its title

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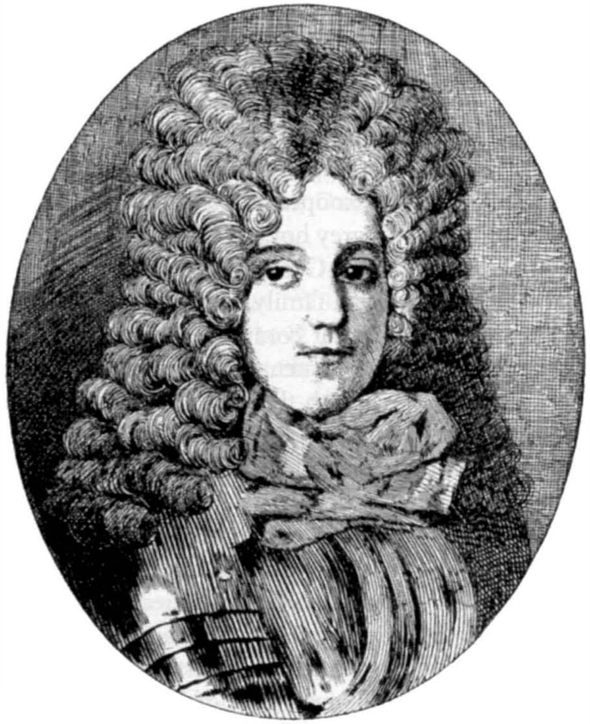
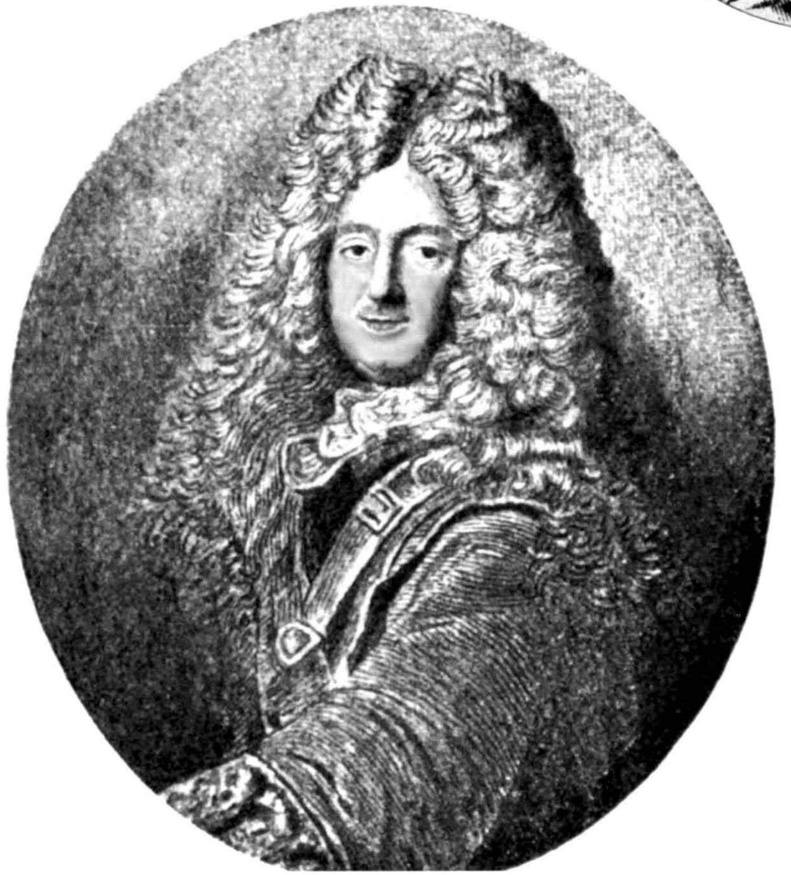
[2] 'Lauzun, Antonin Nompar de Caumont', *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Cambridge University Press, 1911), Vol. 16, p. 289; J.B.P. de Courcelles, *Dictionnaire historique et biographique des généraux français* (Paris: Author and Bertrand, 1820–1823), Vol. 4, pp.73–80. Lauzun, who may have married *La Grande Mademoiselle* secretly, emerged after 11 years as a state prisoner in the Alpine fortress of Pignerol, went on to England and became a hero for the successful escape of Queen Mary of Modena and the Prince of Wales during the Glorious Revolution of December 1688. Back in grace, he was commander of the expeditionary corps in Ireland with tragic results as seen above and definitively shined by the Sun King. The grateful Queen Mary of Modena obtained a dukedom for him in 1693. He married the 14-year-old daughter of Marshal de Lorges in 1695, was always welcome at the court of England at Saint-Germain-en-Laye and passed away in 1723. La Grande Mademoiselle, possibly Europe's wealthiest heiress, died in 1693 and it is said by Saint-Simon that Lauzun, stricken with grief, changed his livery to dark brown lined blue with blue and white lace. Please correct from 1680s to 1693 our Vol. 1, p.119 note on Lauzun's livery.

[3] V. de Saint-Just, *Historique du 5e Régiment de Dragons* (Paris: Hachette, 1891), pp.3, 7, 11–12.



Right: Louis, Comte de Mailly, *c*. 1692. He was a maréchal de camp (lieutenant general) and commanding officer of the Mestre de Camp Général Dragoon Regiment from 1692 to 1696.At that time, the unit was posted along the Rhine. (Print in D'Ollone's 1893 ***Historique du 10e régiment de dragons***. Author's photo)



Below: René de Froulay, Comte de Tessé, *c*. 1690. General Tessé was mestre de camp of his Tessé Dragon Regiment from 1674 to 1684 and Mestre de Camp Général des Dragons from 1684 to 1692. (Print after ***Historique du 10e régiment de dragons***. Author's photo) changed to Mestre de Camp Général. We add that the prerogatives of the Mestre de Camp Général included being inspector of the regiments as was the Colonel Général with the difference that he would report his findings to the Colonel Général. He received the same honours as the Colonel Général except for the salute to the white guidon. When he was in a garrison, all dragoon regiments had to report daily to him. When he was with an army without the Colonel Général, the Mestre de Camp Général enjoyed all his prerogatives including being attended by a mounted company. When serving with the Colonel Général, he was allowed 30 mounted dragoons and 30 dragoons on foot led by a captain and a lieutenant. This guard included a personal sentry and a messenger. When he left or came back to his quarters, dragoons were to mount their horses. Any lack of regard on the part of officers could result in being suspended from duty.[4]

Expansion and Tactics

Four more regiments were raised from 14 September 1673: La Reine, Sauveboeuf (becoming Dauphin in 1675), Listennois and Fimarcon, Tessé and Saint-Sandoux were added in 1674, Du Fay, La Bretesche, Nancré and Audigeau in 1675, Barbezières and Languedoc in 1676. They were know as the *quatorze vieux* (14 old ones) due to Louis XIV specifying that there should not be fewer than 14 dragoon regiments in peace or war.

That number remained fairly stable until 1688–1689 and the War of the League of Augsburg and dragoon regiments went from 14 to 43 regiments by 1690. This had an effect on the tactical deployment of dragoons. Army commanders had a sudden influx of soldiers with horses and so increasingly tended to use dragoons as a sort of medium cavalry. Precedence being always a sensitive point at that time, an order had to be issued on 1 December 1689 stating that line cavalry regiments were always to have the right of the line when serving together. However, the commanding officer of the force could decide to have the dragoons march at the front or rear or mix dragoon and cavalry units as he saw fit. Another rather confusing order on 30 July 1695 put the dragoons under the line infantry as well, so they did everything they could to be with the cavalry although they were officially still part of the infantry in army registers. In fact, they were slowly but surely becoming medium cavalry more than foot soldiers with a horse.

The tactical evolution of dragoons is summarised in Father Daniel's history partly recalling the words of a trooper named Melzo in that the early dragoons were assigned duties "much as today" with regards to escorting convoys, occupying a position much faster than foot troops could, harass the enemy on his march or retreat, always posted on the outskirts of their army and always at its front and rear when marching. It also occurred, "in the last wars" which would be the wars of the League of Augsburg and of Spanish Succession, that they "fought in the line [as cavalry] and while their horses were much smaller than those of the [line] cavalry, they acquired much renown" and "perfectly accomplished" their duty in battle. The spirit and speed of their charges "renders them the best" for a corps of reserve "and it can be said that [this] is their true post on a day of battle. They can also be used to turn the wing of enemies; and come back on its flank or rear, to pierce through a corps of infantry or cavalry that went too far" from its main force. During sieges, dragoon detachments were posted near saps to shot at any enemy seen at the top of the curtain wall, outworks and covered ways. "In a word, they supplement the cavalry and especially the infantry in an infinity of engagements."

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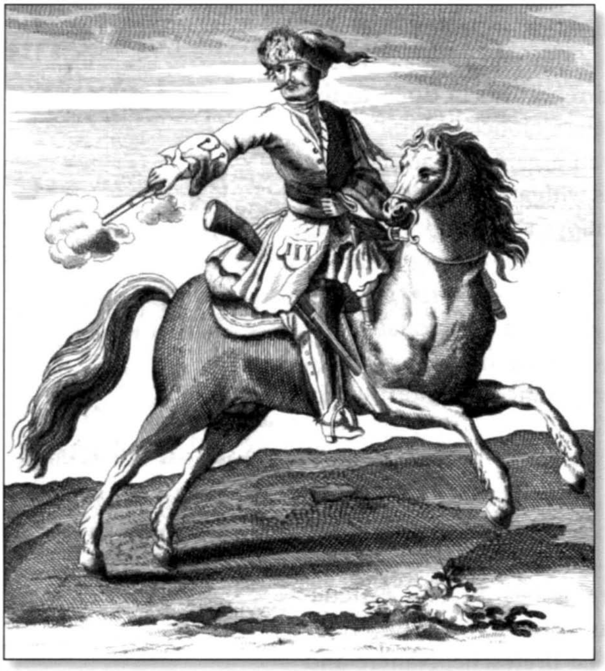
[4] D'Ollone, *Historique du 10e Régiment de Dragons* (Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1893), p.28.

Daniel, who must have been an admirer of dragoons at parades, further added that they were trained in all movements of the cavalry when mounted and all steps of the infantry drill when on foot. The only difference for the mounted drill was that "instead of holding the sword high, they held the musket high". For the infantry drill they presented arms differently "because instead of letting the musket fall on the left hand, with its butt low, they advance further the right foot and let the musket fall along the left foot."[5]



A dragoon in action, early eighteenth century. (Print after Daniel's Histoire de la milice françoise. Author's photo)

Each regiment had a mestre de camp, a lieutenant colonel, a major and an aide major with non-combatants such as a chaplain and a surgeon. Companies had a captain, a lieutenant, a cornet in wartime and a lieutenant *reformé* in peacetime, a *maréchal des logis*, two brigadiers, a drummer, a hautbois and a variable number of private dragoons. Dragoons were not issued with kettledrums, but could keep those they captured from the enemy. This was the case with the Breteche Dragoon Regiment, between 1675 and 1682 so there would also be a kettledrummer. The number of companies varied according to periods peace or hostilities with the average being 12 companies per regiment and four companies per squadron.

As noted above, dragoon horses were smaller and were not expected to be as fine as those of the line cavalry. They were to be 1 m 29 cm to 1 m 35 high (four feet to four feet two inches French measure).

Dragoon pay was as follows: captain: 67 livres 10 sols per month; lieutenant 50 livres per month; cornet: 30 livres per month; *maréchal des logis*: 27 livres per month; brigadier: 10 livres 10 sols per month; private dragoon, drummer and hautbois: nine livres per month plus forage.

The 1685 "Dragonades" sadly provided opportunities to round out these amounts. Quite apart besides the general and unchecked looting that went on, the government also paid three companies of the Montpesat Regiment

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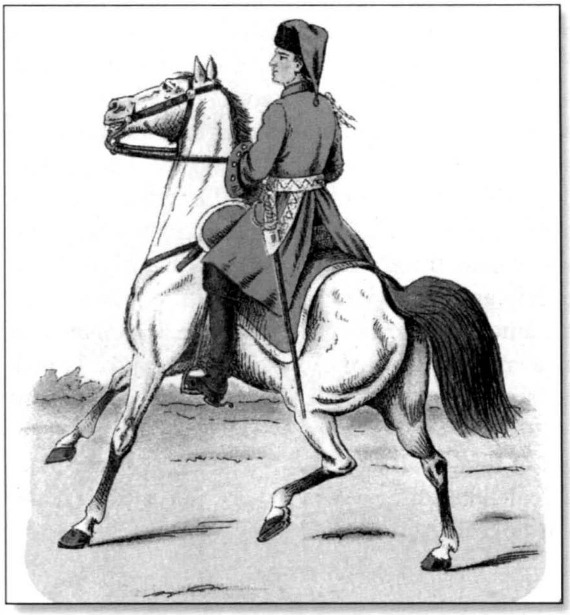
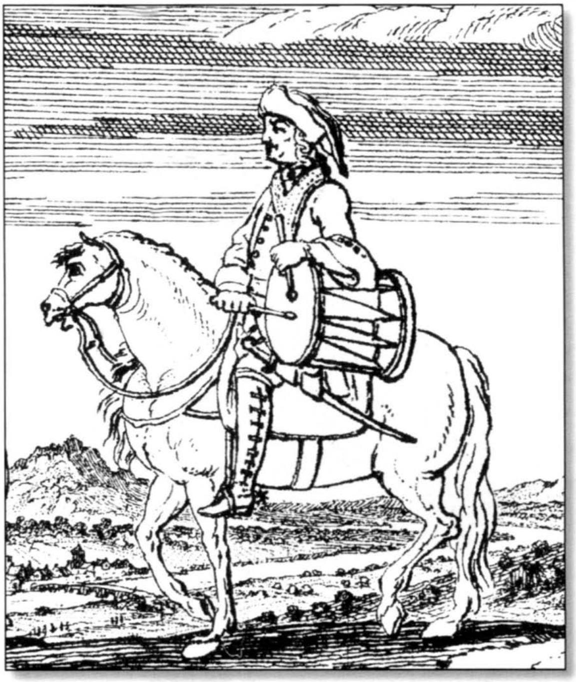
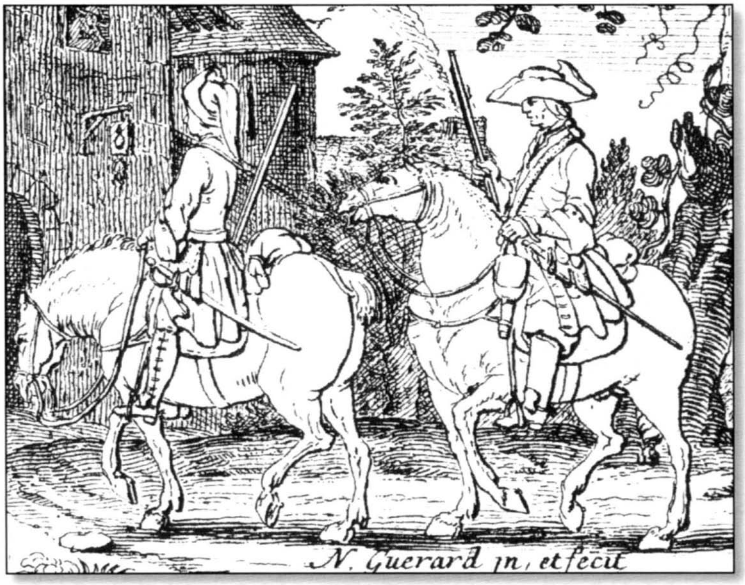
[5] Daniel, *Histoire de la milice françoise*, Vol. 2, pp.498, 512–514.



Left: Trooper of the Asfeld-étranger Dragoon Regiment, 1690s. Red coat, green cuffs green cap with fur band, green housings with white lace edging. (Print after Lienhart and Humbert. Private collection. Author's photo)

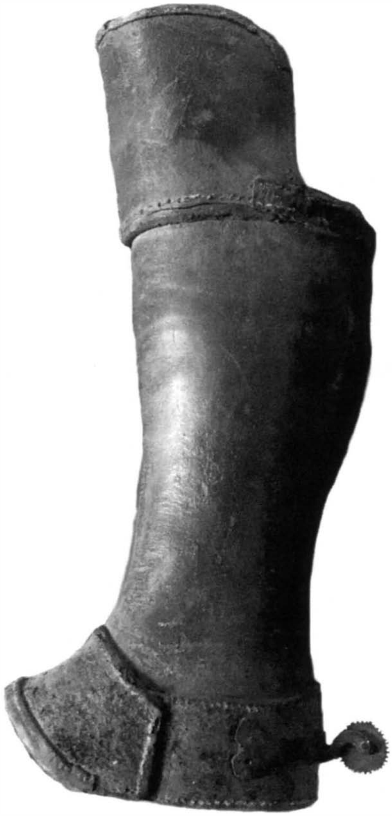


Right: A dragoon drummer with an officer recruiting, *c*. 1695. While the drummer taps his drum to attract attention, the officer hands over a certificate for his enlistment bounty of three pistoles and assures all to enlist "to take part in the campaign. Our garrison is in a lush country." (Detail of a print after Guérard. Private collection. Author's photo)


N. Guerard in, et fecit

Left: A dragoon and a line cavalry trooper, *c*. 1695. Print after Guérard. (Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library, Providence, RI, USA. Author's photo) for 63 days, 50,000 livres; three companies or red dragoons for 95 days, 30,000 livres; three companies or the Villeneuve Regiment for 30 days, 30,000 livres; three companies or blue dragoons of Languedoc for three months and nine days, 37,000 livres. Rations for the troops, 60,000 livres.[6]

The daily rations for a dragoon and forage for his horse are outlined in an order of 14 August 1702. A dragoon trooper had a 24-ounce loaf of bread, a pound and half of meat, a pint of wine or a pot of cider or beer. The horse had 20 pounds of hay and a *boisseau* of oats, the amount of forage for a trooper was 20 pounds of hay and a *boisseau* of oats, a *maréchal des logis* had twice this amount, a cornet three times, a lieutenant four, a captain six, a major 10 and the mestre de camp 12 (which included their issue as captains). The colonel received 12 rations of food and 12 of forage, a lieutenant colonel six, a major six of food and eight of forage, an aide-major four of each, a captain six of each, a lieutenant four of each, a cornet three of each and the chaplain two of each.



A dragoon's gaiter. It was made of strong leather and slipped over the leg that it protected. This view shows the inward side of the leg which was smooth since it was next to the horse's side. The outside was usually fastened with buckles or strong laces. (Musée de Royer, Burgundy. Author's photo)

Uniforms, Arms and Guidons

The early dress of dragoons appears to have been much the same as the line cavalry except for wearing armour although some would have had steel helmets. Following the incorporation of La Ferté's Dragoon Regiment into the Dragons étrangers du Roi to form the Dragons du Roi Regiment in September 1660, a blue uniform dress was introduced for this unit. This was documented on 27 December 1663 when some 442 troopers with their servants amounting to six companies of the Royal-Dragons Regiment arrived in Paris. An observer for the Vatican mentioned that all had blue cloaks, that their hats were tied to the saddle, that they wore "a big beret on their heads" and that 10 to 12 troopers per company were armed with flintlock muskets while the others had matchlock muskets. The muskets had "a bayonet, that after firing is plugged" into the musket's barrel to serve as a half-pike. Four more companies were being recruited by their mestre de camp, Mr de Piquelin. This was the future Duc de Lauzun then known as Antoine-Nompar de Caumont, Marquis de Puyguilhem who commanded the regiment from 1658 until 1668.[7]

Being the King's dragoons, it was logical that he wanted them in a uniform dress that would be of his own livery: blue lined with red, which would include blue cloaks. It is also interesting to read that the distinctive dragoon cap, described as a "big beret" in the 1663 Venetian observer's report, was already routinely in use. Another Venetian report on 25 March 1671 mentions having seen the regiment in Paris numbering "1,000 dragoons … dressed in

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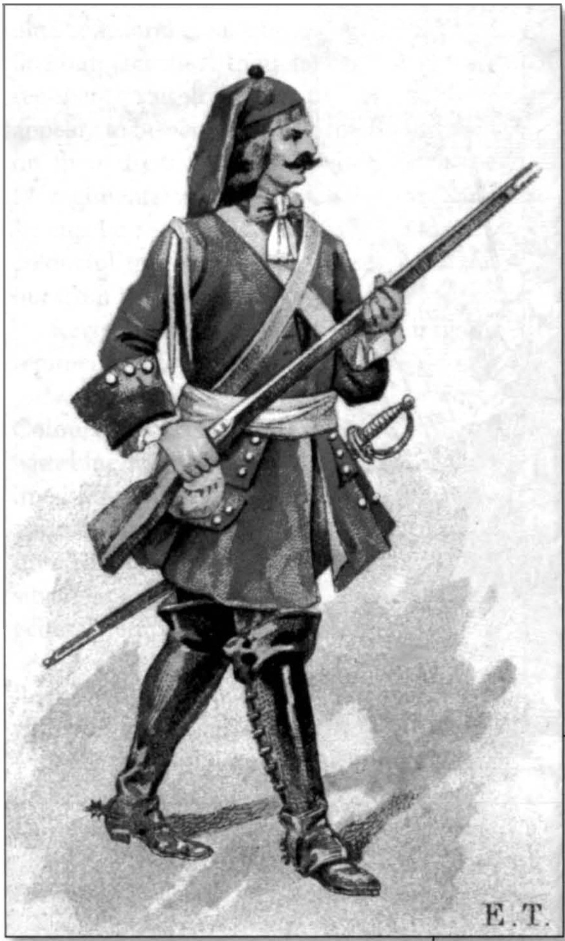
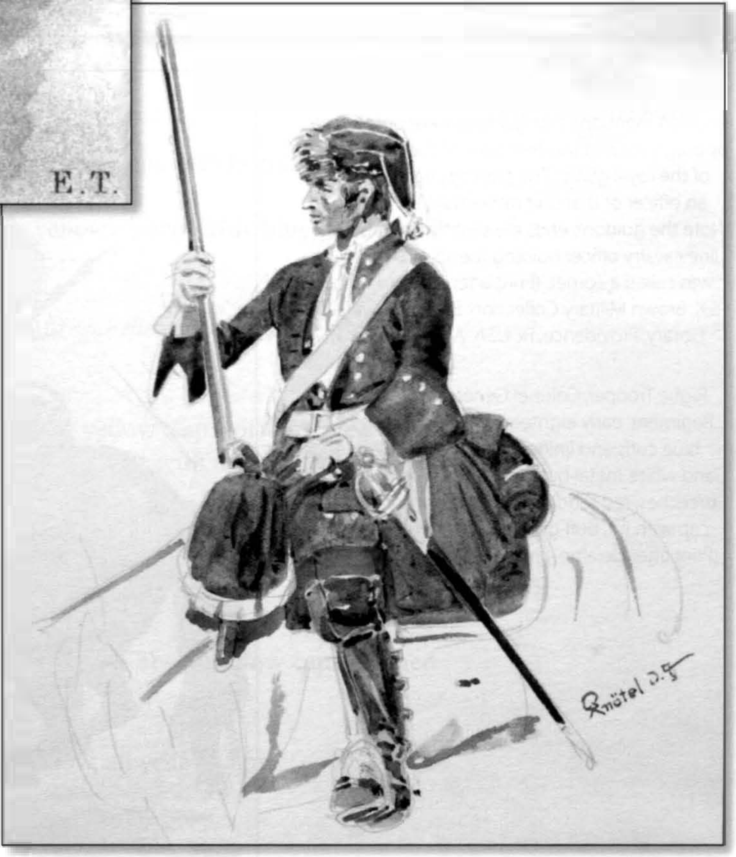
[6] Charles du Bois-Melly, *Mémoires d'un fugitif (1686) suivi de Journal de Genève Pour la present année 1690* (Geneva and Basel: H. Georg, 1877), pp.42–43.

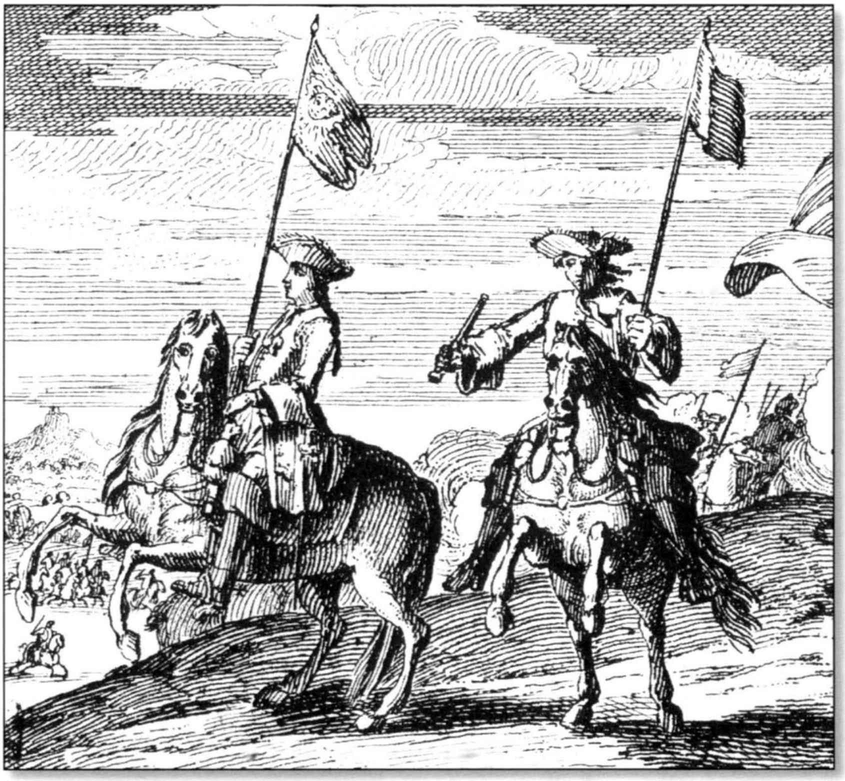
[7] Kindly communicated by Giancarlo Boeri from the Vatican Archives.



Left: Trooper, La Reine Dragoon Regiment, *c.* 1676. Red coat blue cuffs, lining, white metal buttons, white aiguillette and sash, red cap with blue band and pompon. (Print after E. Titeu. Courtesy New York Public Library. New York City)

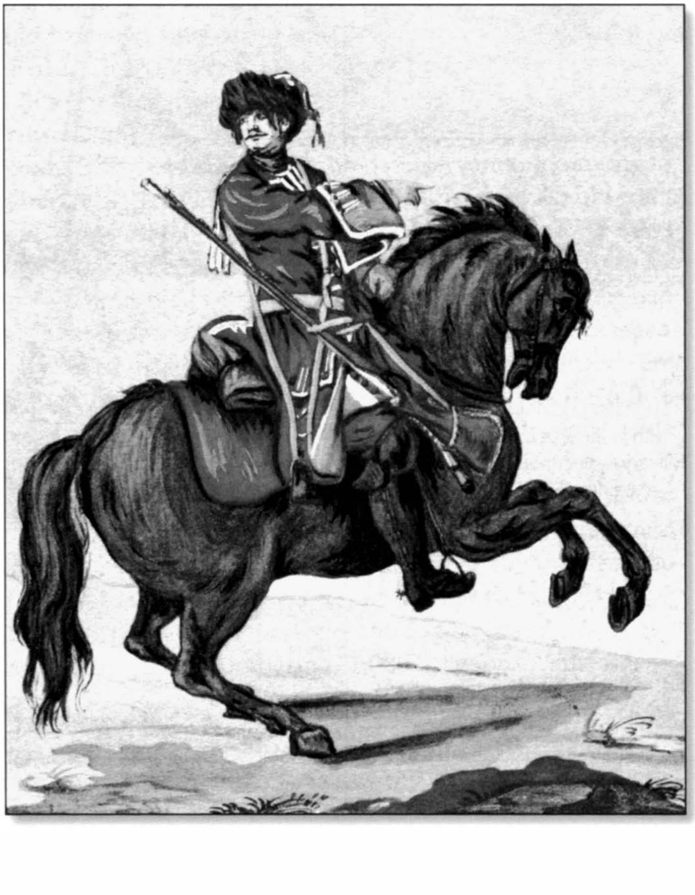


Trooper of the Bouffler Dragoon Regiment, late seventeenth century. This regiment raised in 1689 was reported wearing a green coat with green cuffs and lining in 1692. Reconstructed in this watercolour by Herbert Knötel wearing a green coat, green cuffs and lining,white metal buttons, red breeches, green cap with white piping and tassel and fur band, green housings with white lace border. (Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library, Providence, RI, USA. Author's photo)



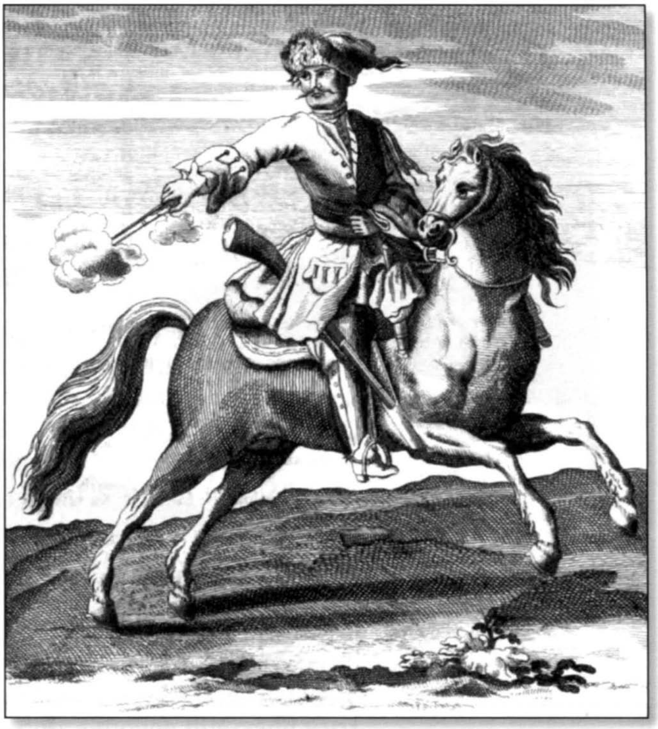
Above: Guidon and standard bearers, *c.* 1695. The caption mentions that guidons were only borne by dragoons and the company of the Gendarmes of the royal guard. The print appears to show an officer of that unit rather than a dragoon. Note the guidon's ends are slightly rounded. The line cavalry officer holding the square standard was called a cornet. (Print after Guérard. Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library, Providence, RI, USA. Author's photo)

Right: Trooper, Colonel Général des Dragons Regiment, early eighteenth century. Red coat, blue cuffs and lining, white lace, aiguillette and white metal buttons, blue waisctcoat, red breeches, red saddle blanket, black gaiters, red cap with fur, buff gloves and accoutrements. (Print after Delaître. (Private collection. Author's photo)



blue coats and cloaks lined with red with a fine buff jacket." Although there were more regiments raised during the 1670s, there appears to be very little information known on their dress until 1680 when 13 of the 14 regiments were reviewed by the King. As can be seen below, dragoons had very colourful uniforms that made them stand out from the rest of the army.

Review by the King of dragoon regiments at Stenay, 21 July 1680:[8]



A dragoon in action, early eighteenth century. (Print after Daniel's Histoire de la milice françoise. Author's photo)

Colonel Général. Dressed in scarlet lined with blue with silver buttonholes, red caps lined [and turned up] with blue plush with silver buttonholes, the officers magnificently dressed with their coats decorated with silver Spanish point *brandebourgs.* The general company has white horses.

Royal (or du Roi). Dressed in blue lined with red, blue caps lined [and turned up] with red plush with gold buttonholes.

La Reine. Dressed in red lined with blue.

Dauphin. Dressed in blue lined with blue, blue caps with bearskin fur.

Listenois. Dressed in *isabelle* (buffish yellow) lined with blue, buff caps [turned up] with blue plush with silver lace.

Barbezières. Dressed in red lined with buff *isabelle*, red caps with silver lace turban [? *torsil*] in the Turkish style.

Tessé. Dressed in yellow lined with red, yellow caps ornamented with bearskin fur, a gold sun embroidered on the front with a white Polish-style aigret.

Poinconnel. Dressed in red lined with green, red caps ornamented with bearskin fur and silver buttonholes.

La Lande. Dressed in yellow lined with red like Tessé, yellow caps [turned up] with red plush with silver buttonholes.

La Bretèche. Dressed in red lined with yellow, all yellow caps.

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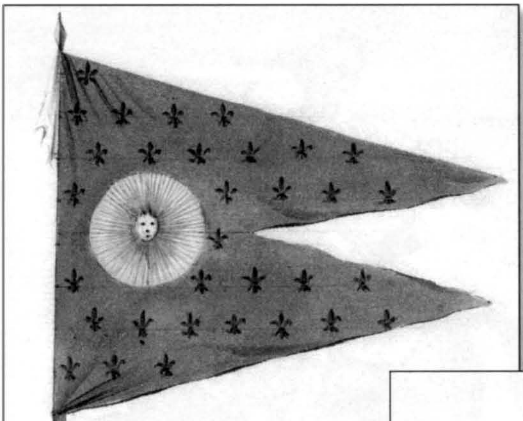
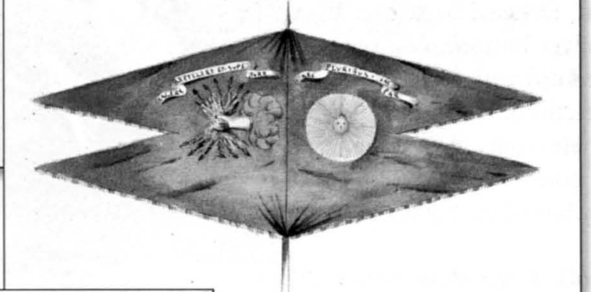
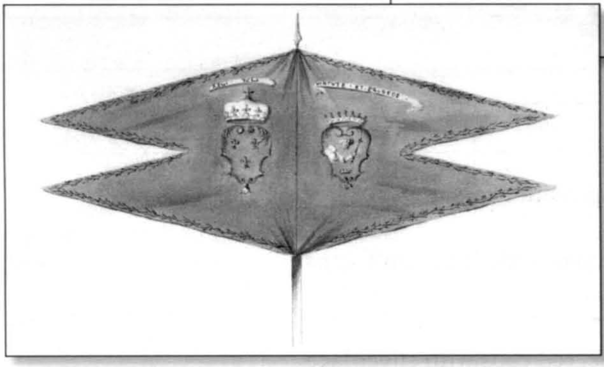
[8] *Mercure Galant*, September 1680. pp.262–270.



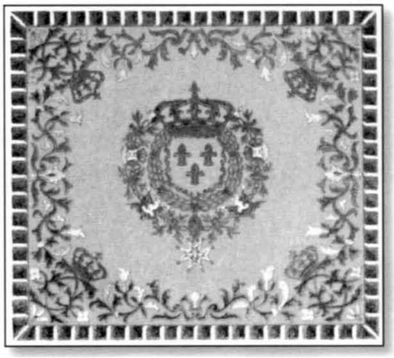
Left: A standard possibly of Royal-Dragons possibly captured in 1703. Blue with gold sun, lilies and fringes. (Unsigned watercolour of the period. Courtesy Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, BI-B-FM-071-26)

Below: A dragoon standard said to have been captured at on both sides showing showing gold flames and thunderbolts held by a silver arm from a grey cloud, gold embroidered sun, white scroll with black letters, silver fringe. (Unsigned watercolour of the period. Courtesy Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, BI-B-FM-071-98)





Above: A dragoon standard said to have been captured at Oudenarde, 1708. Both sides are shown; blue field, gold embroidery, white scrolls. (Unsigned watercolour of the period. Courtesy Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, BI-B-FM-071-96)



Right: Trumpet banner and guidon of the Colonel Général's Dragoon Regiment, late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The trumpet banners were blue. (Print in V. de Saint-Just's ***Historique du 5e Régiment de Dragons*** (1891). Author's photo)

Bussard. Dressed in red lined with green, red caps with a silver lace and with gold buttonholes for officers.

Asfeld. Dressed in red lined with green, caps the same.

Fimarcon. Dressed in green lined with *isabelle*, caps the same.

Each regiment had hautbois dressed in the colonel's livery and all officers wore the dress of their regiment.

Of the above regiments, Tessé became Mestre de Camp Général des Dragons in 1684 and thereafter traded its yellow coat for a red coat lined with blue (1692 list), with red cuffs and red lining, white hat band, silver hat lace, sword knot and white cord (Corfey 1698) and red coat cuffed and lined blue in the 1702 list. Please see Appendices II and III and the plates.

Their headdress was also distinctive from what was worn in the rest of the army in that they wore a cloth cap of the coat colour whose pointed end fell back. The Grande Mademoiselle opined that "these caps gave them an air of bravery that was not noticeable in other corps". Its turn-up was usually of the facing colour, sometimes with some lace, but this was not a rule and some might be of fur. They wore their "dragoon cap" on service, at parades, inspections and for foraging. They were also issued a laced hat with a cockade that was usually worn when not on duty although this could vary. Caps were preferred when foraging so as not to get the hats dirty.

Dragoons had drummers rather than trumpeters, also had hautbois and might have a kettledrummer if the regiment had captured such from the enemy. They were dressed in the livery colours of their colonel.

It would appear that dragoons always had leather gaiters that went above the knees and buckled or closed with cords on the side. Small spurs were fixed to the gaiters. These gaiters were called *bottines* and could vary in details. Saddlery was essentially the same as the line cavalry's.

According to orders of 16 March 1676, dragoons were armed with swords like the line cavalry's and this remained the case for the rest of the reign, a pistol, a tool such as an hatchet, a pick, a shovel, a hoe or a scythe instead of a second pistol and an infantry musket with its bayonet, initially the plug type and later the socket type from the end of the seventeenth century.[9]

Rather than square standards like the cavalry, dragoons had the swallow-tailed guidons. Although many later sources show them as having rather rounded tails, it would seem that during most if not all the Sun King's reign, the tails were mostly pointed. This is certainly what the Dutch prints and watercolours of captured guidons (some are reproduced in this volume) in the early eighteenth century imply. However, Guérard's *c.* 1695 print show the points to be somewhat rounded so both types may to have been used simultaneously.[10]

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[9] In 1706, Bellisle's Dragoons captured some 300 enemy troopers and were allowed to keep their sabres, which had polished steel grips and brass scabbards as per Susane, *Histoire de la Cavalerie*, Vol. 3, pp.61–62.

The report of the King's review of 13 dragoon regiments at Stenay on 21 July 1680 mentions the guidons of 12 regiments as follows:[11]

Colonel Général. White Colonel Général's guidon and the others red, all having sprinkled gold flames.

Royal. Blue guidons sprinkled with lilies.

La Reine. Red guidons sprinkled with lilies and the arms of the queen embroidered in gold.

Dauphin. Blue guidons sprinkled with lilies and dolphins.

Listenois. Blue guidons with the sun and the King's motto.

Tessé. White guidons with the motto *Victoria pinget* in gold.

Poinconnel. Green guidons with gold embroidered flames and thunderbolts with the King's motto and the sun.

La Lande. Guidons yellow on one side and red on the other with the sun and the King's motto on one side and that of the colonel on the other.

La Bretèche. Yellow guidons with the badge of a wooden leg with the motto: *Nouveau mal, nouveau remède* (new pain, new medicine). Some time before, the colonel's leg was shot off by a cannonball and he since wore a peg leg.

Bussard. Green guidons embroidered in gold on one side with the King's motto on one side and that of the colonel on the other.

Asfeld. Green guidons embroidered in silver on one side where there is the motto of the colonel and the other side red with the sun and the King's motto.

Fimarcon. Green guidons embroidered in silver and gold with the King's motto on one side and that of the colonel on the other.

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[10] The print appears to show an officer of company of the Gendarmes of the royal guard rather than a dragoon as he wears heavy cavalry boots and a tricorn rather than a dragoon cap.

[11] *Mercure Galant*, September 1680. pp.262–270. The word *devise* is translated here as motto, but could also be interpreted as a cipher or badge in this instance.

15

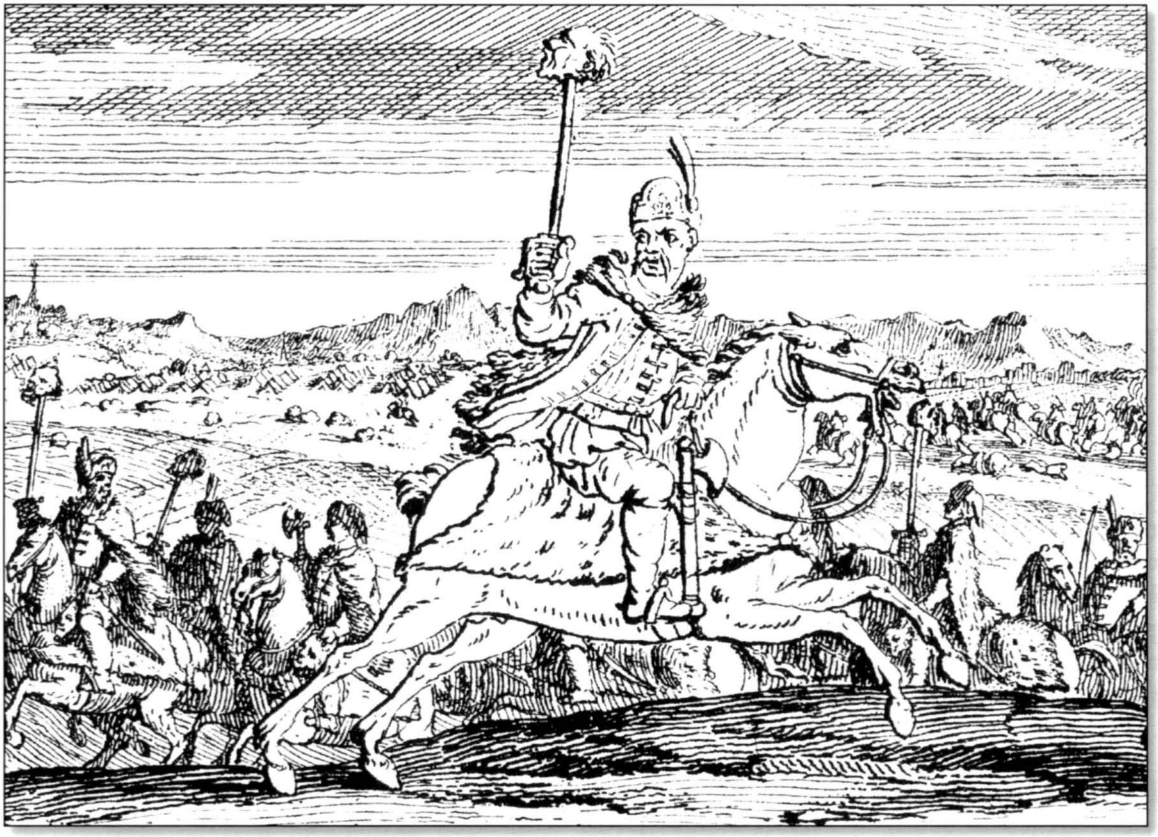
Hussars

Until the War of the League of Augsburg, the vast majority of Frenchmen had never heard of hussars. But as the first campaigns got under way, some noticed unusual and very rapid cavalry horsemen that were with the troops of the Holy Roman Empire operating in Germany. The *Mercure Galant* of May 1690 published a fairly long account of French cavalry defeating a party of hussars near Fribourg the month before. It was seemingly the earliest account of these troops to be published in a large-circulation magazine in France.

Exotic Hungarians

The engagement, which appears to have been a large skirmish, started when a force of French cavalry was suddenly attacked by a party of hussars. Full of confidence:

> they charged our men shouting awful yells, but soon found themselves obliged to get away. We followed them to a river … and fell upon them in such strength that they were all tumbled into the river. Only those who had the best horses managed to escape … All their officers were killed except their commander, which we brought back prisoner with 14 of the bravest [Hussars] … They are very tall, well built and their head is shaved except a lock of hair that they keep in the middle of the skull. They have a big moustache that goes down to their chest and a fur cap with a pointed cock's feather. Their officers have an eagle's feather. These [officers] dress in the Turkish style. The troopers wear *pourpoints* [tight jackets] with wide breeches; they don't have coats, nor cloaks, nor shirts, but each wears a tiger's pelt that hangs from their collar … They do not give quarter when they have the advantage, and never ask for it when they are the weaker force. They have firearms that they use rather badly, but with sabre in hand, they are extraordinarily dexterous and there are many amongst them who, when they pass near a [enemy] trooper, never fail to cut off his head. The commander that we made prisoner is so skilful that those [hussars] we took with him assured us that of 20 heads, he never missed one. These hussars are Hungarians that have always been under the domination of the Turks. When they come back from war, their general gives them as many pieces of silver as the number of heads they bring back.



Hussards Royaux (Royal Hussars), ***c.*** 1695. Officially, these hussars belonged to Mortany's Hussar Regiment. The caption mentioned that these hussars in French service "raised during 1693" were not very different in appearance than Imperial hussars except that they had a lily on their caps. They used "a wolf's pelt" as a jacket and had an axe. They also "cut off the head of their enemy at which they are very skilled". (Print after Guérard. Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library, Providence, RI, USA. Author's photo)

In spite of that rather uncouth habit to round out pay, some senior French officers must have seen the hussars as something of a pest that had to be countered. No such light cavalrymen could be found and enlisted in France or in western Europe, so the only way to obtain hussars was to lure some from the Austrians. The word hussar itself was said to originate from the Hungarian word "husz" or "hus'ar" that meant 20 pennies equating to the daily pay they once had. It took a while, but, eventually the obviously flamboyant Baron of Kronenberg came into the French camp looking to make a deal.

Dangeau's journal on Saturday 11 October 1692 mentioned that:

> The King is establishing a regiment of 500 horses in 10 companies. He is giving them a very good treatment; he gives [a bounty] of 230 livres for each hussar recruited and their pay will be even higher than for foreign troops. He has chosen as colonel the Baron of Cronenberg, German, who served a long time as lieutenant colonel in the [Austrian] emperor's troops, and came to find the king at the siege of Namur. This regiment will not stand watch and sentry duty and will always march at the head of the army. The Colonel promises that it will be at full strength in March and that hussars of the Emperor will desert to join him.

Colonel Kronenberg (also spelt Cronenberg or Croneberg) soon horrified the King and his officers by the levity and totally undisciplined lifestyle he led with his hussars. In spite of generous financial terms, he soon ran up great debts while his men were causing much disturbance. The order-loving Sun King was not amused, cancelled Kronenberg's commission on 16 November 1693 and appointed instead M. de Mortany (or Mortani or Mortagne) to improve the regiment's discipline. It must not have been easy considering that a hussar officer, although he had a French commission, was only really accepted after he had asked his men's consent to command them – this was done by a cheer or nods of the head. Nevertheless, the hussars obviously were pleased with being in French service, which may have been a better deal than what they had from Austrians. They were unofficially also called *Hussards Royaux* (Royal Hussars) but were not condoned as such by the King. While they were taking their winter quarters of 1694–1695 at Saint-Étienne, the deal got even better. The King, the April 1695 *Mercure Galant* reported proudly, had "gratified" (which is to say paid a bonus), to:

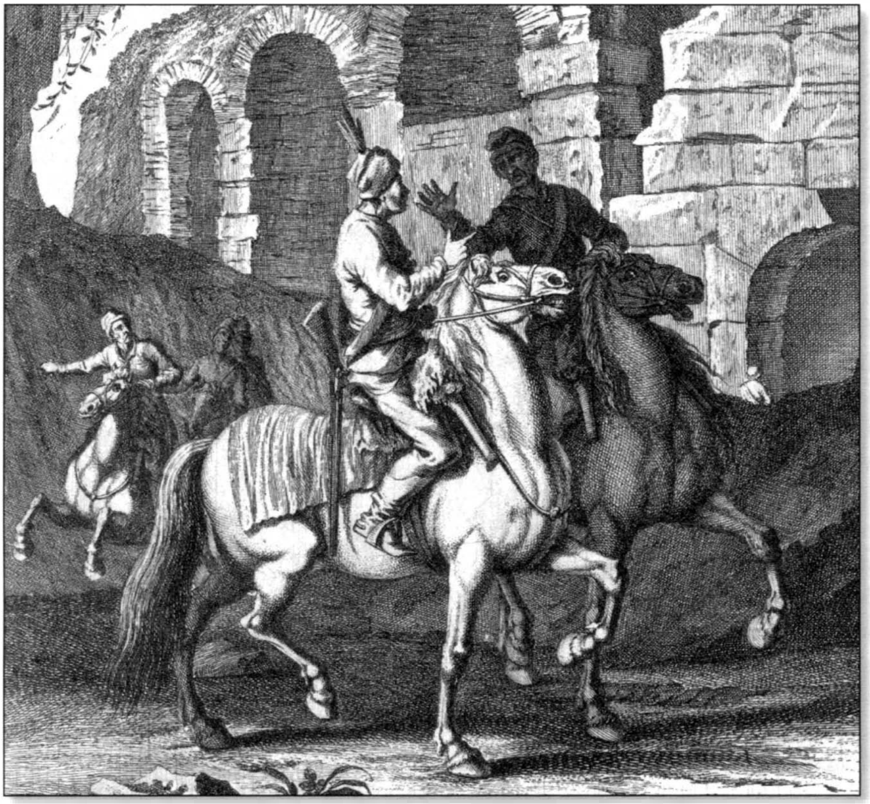
> several officers, lieutenants, cornets, maréchaux des logis and other soldiers of the Hussar Regiment ... who having been convinced of the truth of our religion by the zeal of Father Victorin de Mouzon, Capucin preacher, publicly abjured the Lutheran religion as well as the Calvinist, in the church of the Capucins. These hussars are very happy to have entered into the French service, which has put them on the road to their salvation.

One hopes that the practice of cutting off heads was not as frequent thereafter.

Light Cavalrymen and Raiders

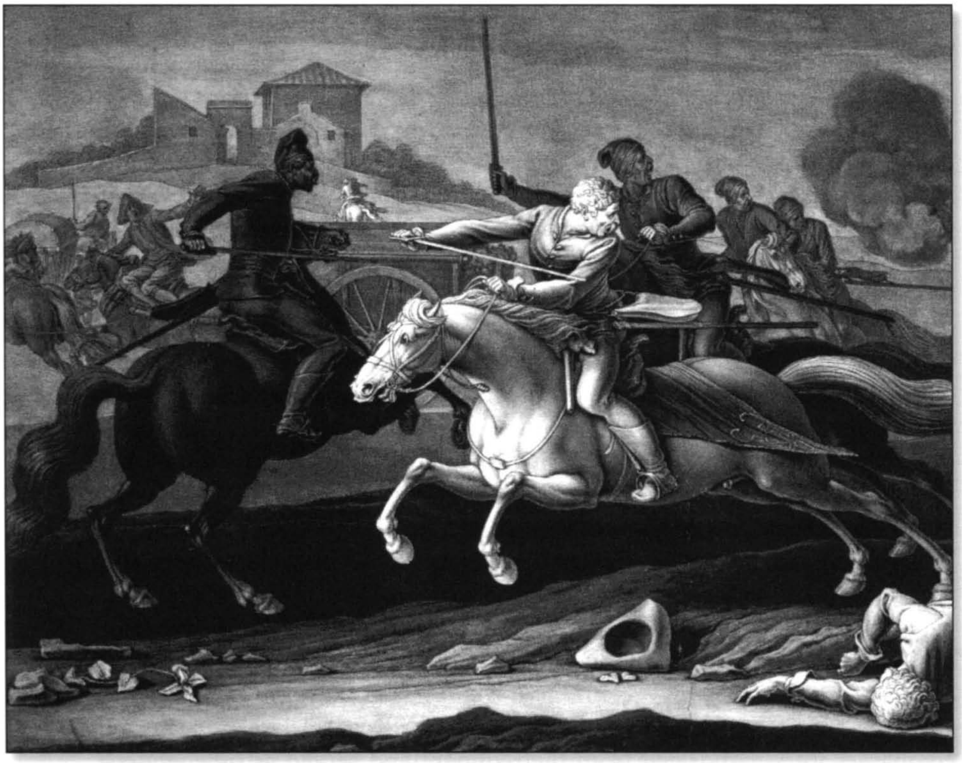
The hussar's arrival in the French army gave its cavalry the light mounted troops it lacked. Until then, French troopers could not really compete and catch up with the swift and fleeting hussars of the Austrian opponents. It was therefore an important tactical addition for the Sun King's army and so the hussars, for all their wild ways, were obviously very much appreciated; in terms of raid and reconnaissance capacity. French generals could now depend on their own hussars and this was more precious than disbanding them for disciplinary issues. They were deployed ahead and at the rear of an army and would go out on reconnaissance quickly bringing back information on enemy troop movements. They also could look out ahead of cavalry foraging parties, escort convoys and make lightning speed small raids. The regiment was disbanded in 1697, but its best and presumably better disciplined troopers were kept in the army and transferred to the Royal-Allemand (German) Cavalry Regiment. These may have been the regiment's peculiar troopers dressed in a "blue over vest, red jacket, red cap with black fur border" seen in 1698 at Compiègne by Corfey in a squadron "dressed in the Polish style with fur caps" according to the September 1698 *Mercure Galant.*

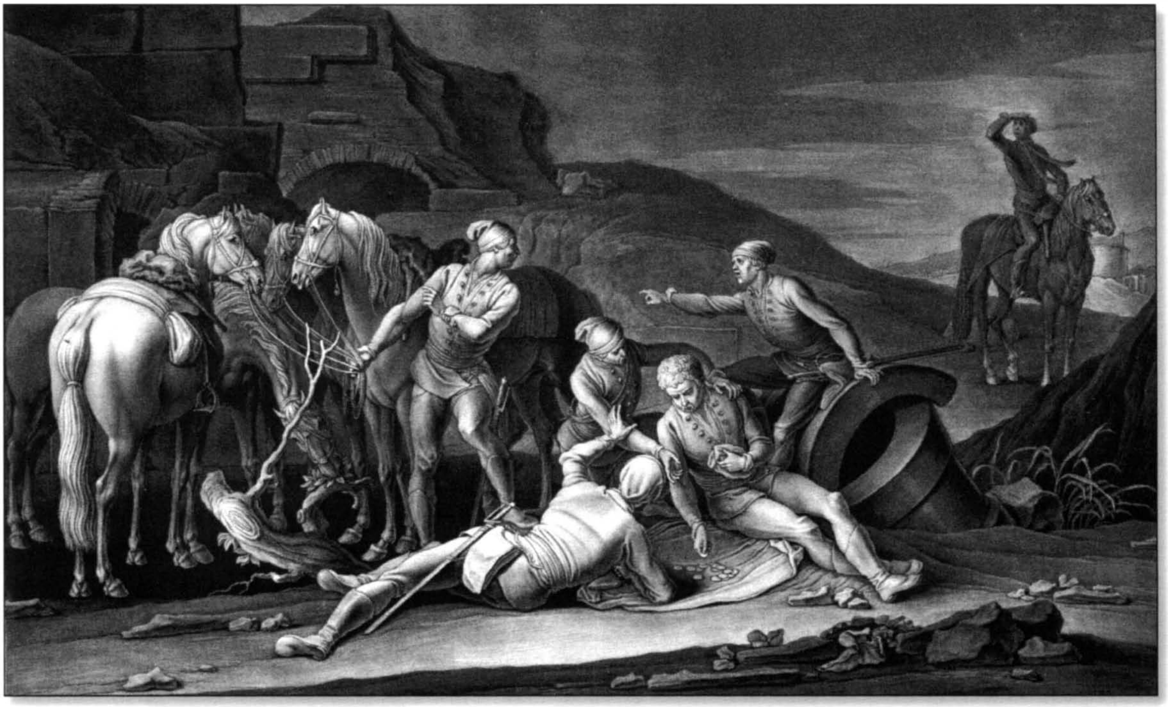
With the renewal of hostilities in 1701, Royal-Allemand's hussar companies were withdrawn from the regiment and served as independent



Left: Hussar troopers, 1700. (Detail of a print after Georg Philipp Rugendas. Courtesy Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library, Providence, RI, USA)

Below: Hussar troopers in action, *c.* 1695. (Detail of a print after Georg Philipp Rugendas. Courtesy Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library, Providence, RI, USA)





Hussar troopers gathering loot, c. 1695. (Detail of a print after Georg Philipp Rugendas. Courtesy Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library, Providence, RI, US).

companies. They were reorganised at the behest of Marshal Villars into a regiment led by the Marquis de Verseilles (or Verseils) on 6 November 1705, served with distinction at Stolhofen and Drusenheim with the French army in the Rhineland and said rather optimistically by Susane to have defeated four Imperial cavalry regiments in May 1707. Later in Germany and present at the sieges of Landau and Fribourg in 1713. After the war, it was to be incorporated into Rattky's Hussars on 17 May 1716, but its men mutinied and the regiment was dissolved.[1]

At that time there were independent hussar companies serving with the French army in Italy that were gathered into a regiment under Colonel Podléak (actually Paul Deack) on 25 September 1705, replaced by Colonel Filz in December. Sent to Spain, the colonel was killed in action and replaced by Colonel de Menteils and the regiment transferred to the Spanish army on 15 July 1709.

Meanwhile, the Bavarian ally's Saint-Geniès (or Saint-Géniez) Hussar Regiment came to France in late 1704 and was eventually incorporated into the French army on 15 November 1705. Its command passed to Baron Georges Per de Rattky on 14 December 1707. The regiment had an outstanding service record and was with the French armies at Oudenarde in 1708, Malplaquet the following year, Denain, Douai and Le Quesnoy in 1712, on the Rhine, at

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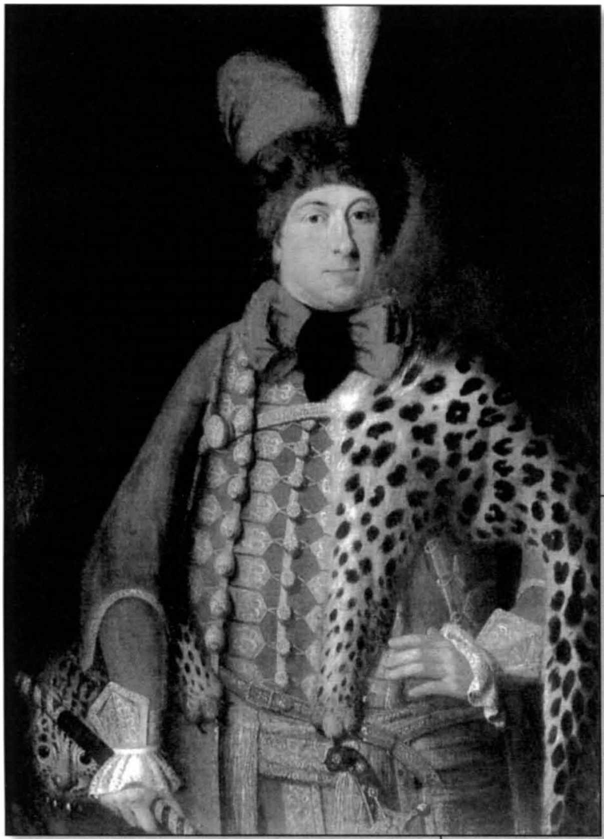
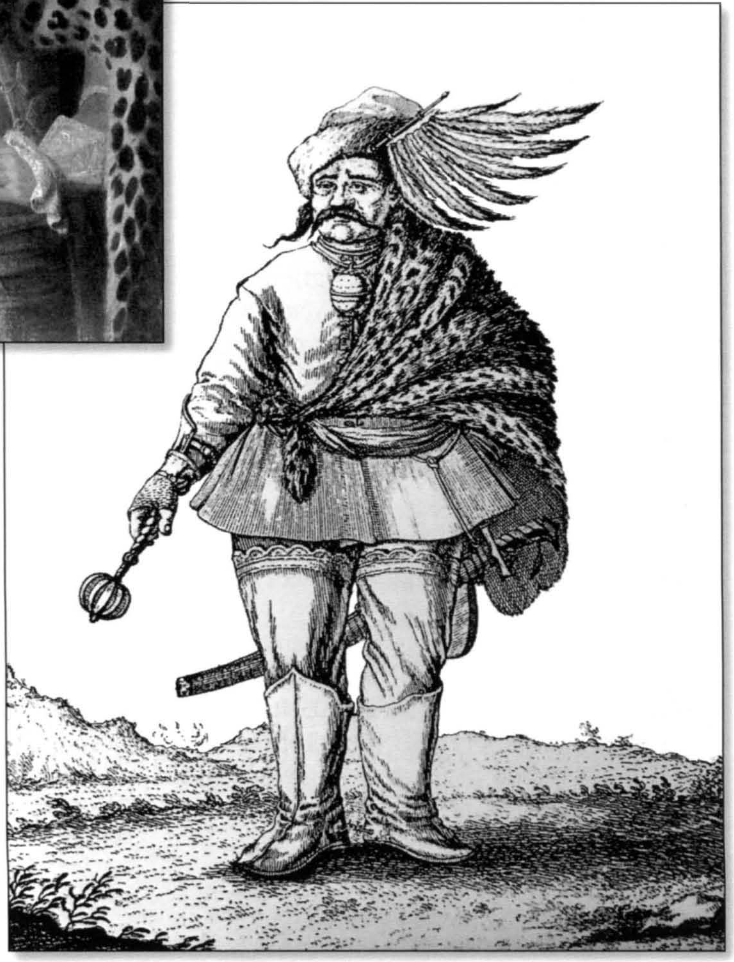
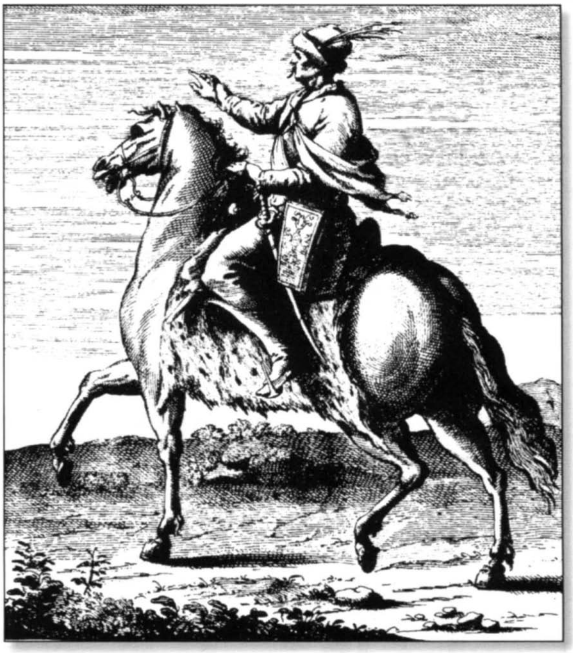
[1] On the early and rather obscure history of French hussar units, we have found further useful details besides Susane's in Choppin, *La cavalerie française*, pp.99–100; Raoul Dupuy, *Historique du 3e Régiment de Hussards* (Paris: Piaget, 1887), pp.1–2; *Histoire de tous les regiments de hussards à l'armée française* (n.p., nd. [*c.* 1868]), pp.5–8. There was no colonel general of hussars until 22 August 1779 when the post was created for the Duc de Chartres.



Left: Lieutenant Colonel Pierre d'Aremberg, Mortany Hussar Regiment, c. 1705. He wears an all scarlet uniform trimmed with gold, scarlet cap with fur and white aigret, leopard fur pelisse. (Print after portrait. Private collection. Author's photo)



Colonel Paul Poldéak (or Paul Deack), commanding officer of the Hussar Regiment formed from 25 September 1705 to serve in northern Italy. His conduct was such that he was quickly replaced by Colonel Filz in December. He wears the original Hungarian hussar's costume and holds a mace as a sign of command. His right hand is protected by an open chain mail glove and an armour gauntlet. The round silver ball below the neck was a sign of nobility. (Period print in the ***Carnet de la Sabretache***, 1898. Author's photo)



A hussar trooper, early eighteenth century. Note the early rectangular-shaped sabretache hanging on the trooper's left side. (Print after Daniel's ***Histoire de la milice françoise***. Author's photo)

Worms and at the siege of Landau in 1713. It was kept in the army's establishment following the war.

For all their lack of order and discipline as practised in the French army, the hussars proved invaluable as scouts and masters of "commando"-style raids on unsuspecting enemy camps, convoys and isolated small corps. Lieutenant General Lacolonie described the hussars he served with in 1703 as:

> to be frank, mounted bandits who have nothing regulated in their manner of fighting. One cannot fight them regularly because, although they are in a troop when attacked, a moment later they are all dispersed racing away on their horses and, when we think they are scattered and on the run, we see them reappear [formed in a troop] as they were before.

In 1711, hussars under Marshal Villars overran by surprise an enemy camp near Douai where they distinguished themselves taking many standards. "I could not say how many standards were taken, recalled Gassion, because the hussars that captured them and from whom they can't be taken [because] they melt the gilding and keep them for their own use." They were peerless as scouts and Villars would depend on them when they fanned out in front of his army to detect anything as far as 14 lieues (54.6 km) ahead, an amazing feat considering their small number.[2]

Uniform, Equipment and Weapons

According to Father Daniel, the hussar's clothing was a "kind of short jacket or waistcoat that only went down to the waist, with very narrow sleeves, which could be turned up [at the cuff] with a button". They had "a long pair of breeches as a trouser that went to the ankle, boots up to the knees with some having steel heels". The troopers' shirts were "very short and rarely changed", which is why many had them in blue cotton. Their cloaks were "not much longer than their jackets and slung on the side" when it rained. The caps were long and edged with "peaux" [which can be translated as hide or fur]. The hussar officers were better dressed according to their own taste and dignity. They were "even magnificent" in their dress, equipment, weapons, "hides and furs", Their caps had "fine aigrets and some put [thin] silver bars on the right side" to denote the number of engagements in which they had fought. They also had a silver ball at the breast to denote their noble standing.[3]

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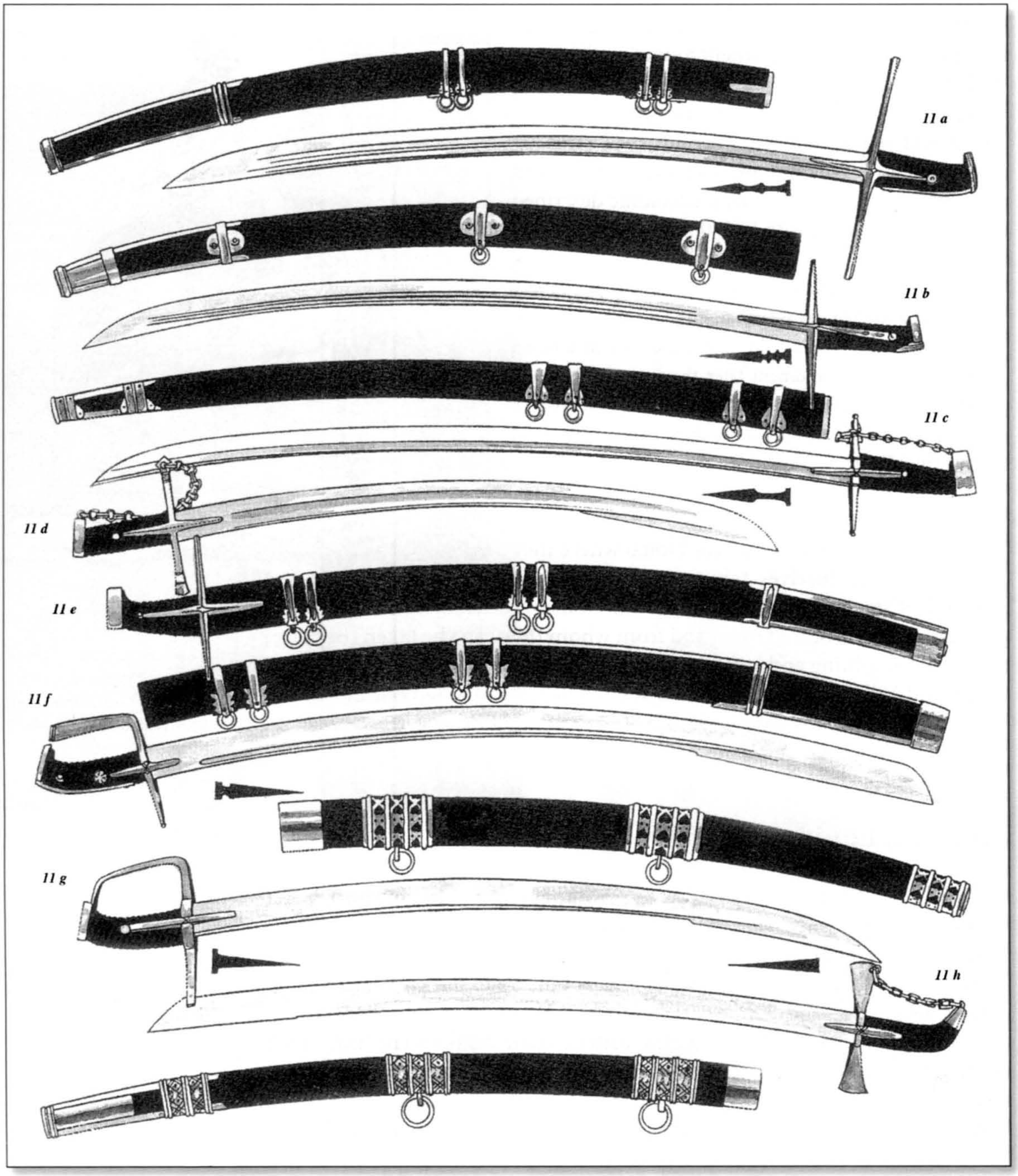
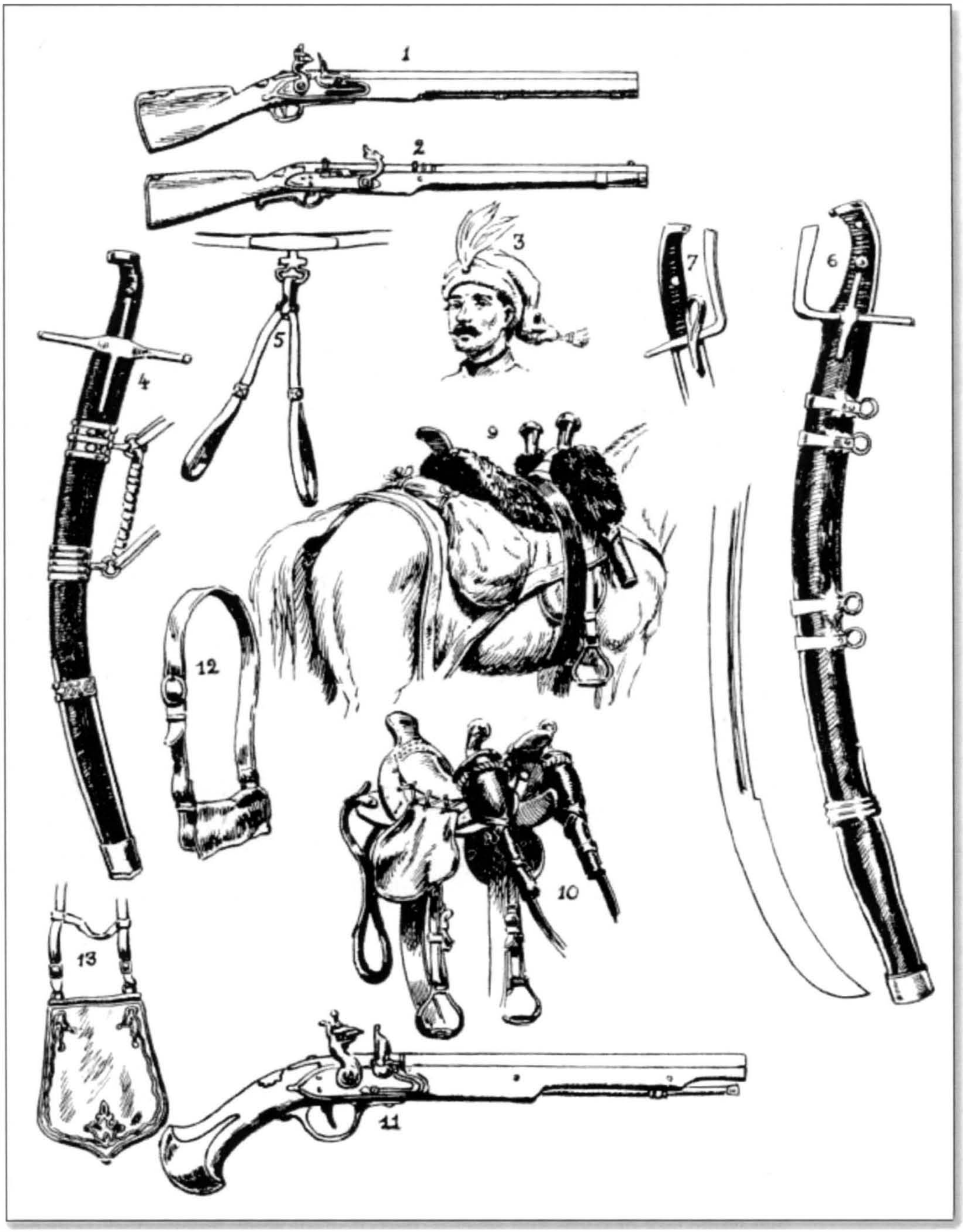
[2] Henri Choppin, *La cavalerie française* (Paris: Garnier, 1893), pp.94, 96–98. Kronenberg was angered by the loss of his commission and went to serve in Tzar Peter I's Russian army, but reappeared in France during 1705 asking to raise another regiment, which request was flatly refused.

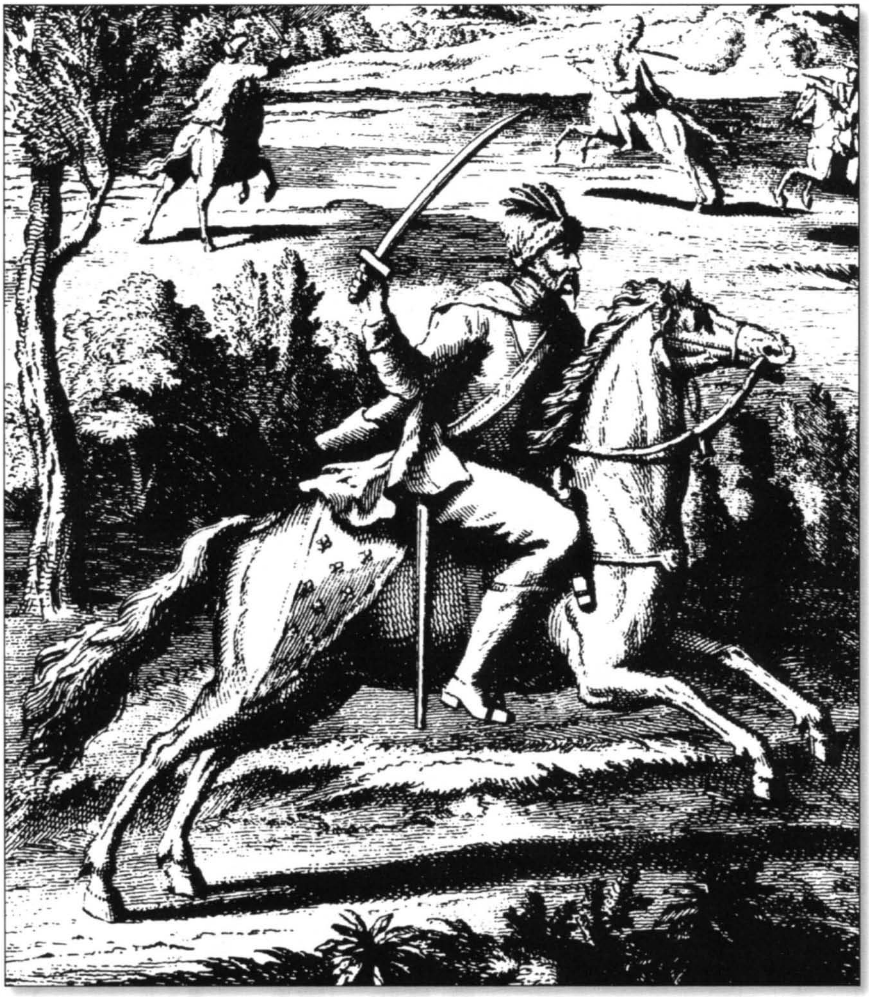
[3] Gabriel Daniel, *Histoire de la milice françoise* (Paris: Jean-Baptiste Coignard, 1721), pp.519–520.



Hussar trooper's sabres, late seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries. These sabres, whose basic designs evolved from sixteenth-century Hungary, had curved blades and their hilts were of steel with wooden grips covered with black leather. Figures 11a to 11e are style to be found carried by hussars in French service. There were of course exceptions, figure 11f is more in the Polish style and figure 11g has Ottoman design influence. A standard regulation model was only imposed in 1752. (Detail from a plate reproduced by the kind permission of the artist, Michel Pétard, from his book ***Des Sabres et des Épées***. Author's photo)

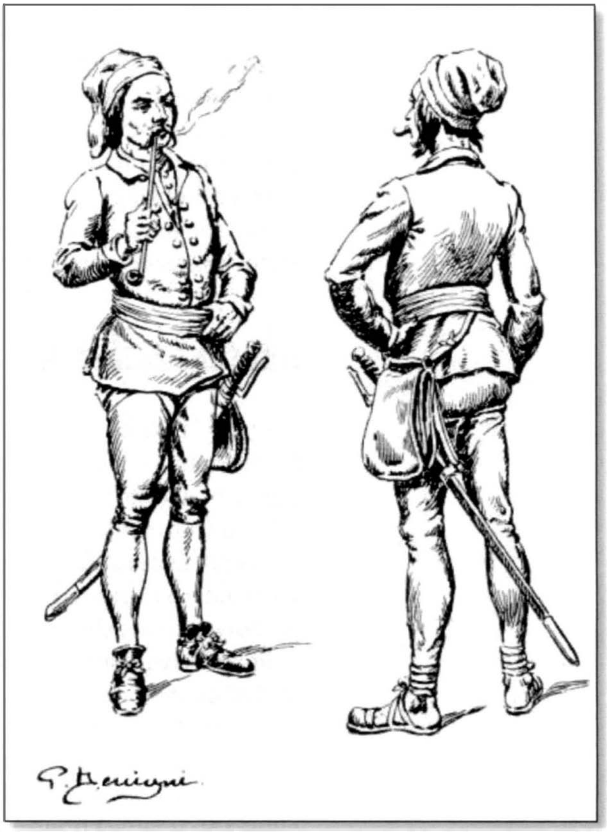


Hussar's weapons and equipment, late 1690s and early 1700s. 1) flintlock carbine; 2) matchlock carbine; 3) variation of officer's headdress; 4) sabre; 5) detail of waist belt; 6, 7 and 8) hussar sabre variations and details; 9 and 10) saddlery and housings; 11) pistol; 12) cartridge box and belt; 13) sabretache. (Print after Pierre Benigny. Private collection. Author's photo)



A hussar in a cavalry skirmish, early eighteenth century. This figure may have been meant to show an officer. As it is, the housings have a French touch, being sprinkled with lilies. (Print after Guignards ***L'École de Mars***. Author's photo)

The uniform of the hussars, if we can qualify it as such, was obviously not a hallmark of uniformity. Furthermore, their costume, arms and equipment appears to have been generally similar whether they served in Austrian or French armies. Quite apart from its eastern style, there is a dearth of information in contemporary sources regarding the colours of the clothing worn by these intrepid troopers. So far and mainly based on seventeenth-century, sometimes coloured, prints by Rugendas, and Detaistre's 1720s watercolours, the dress of these early hussars in French service was a light or sky blue "dolman" jacket with small red or light blue cuffs; it could be plain with just buttons or with flat white lace or cords and several rows of small white metal buttons close to each other on the breast; a wolfskin "pelisse" jacket; a yellow "barrelled" sash; light or sky blue long breeches (they never wore leather breeches) with red "scharawaden" leggings; a red cap with fur edging with a white lily in front and a cock's feather. The scalp lock for the hussar's otherwise shaved head hung down on the right side and they had long moustaches. There could be countless variations to the above, not only of hues of colour, but for other details such as having a cloth edging to the cap. It also seems that the Muslim-style shaved



Hussar troopers in dismounted dress, late 1690s and early 1700s. When on foot, the troopers preferred to wear sandals or shoes. (Print after Pierre Benigny. Private collection. Author's photo)

head and scalp lock was far from universal. Many prints show that the hair was tucked into the cap with some short locks visible.[4]

Officers had more elaborate dress as mentioned by chroniclers above, their full dress clothing being decorated with lace, cords and embroidery. The also wore a plain jacket and some of these are shown with wide cuffs. Perhaps the colours were those of their men's uniform and perhaps not. A portrait of Lieutenant Colonel Pierre d'Aremberg of Mortany's Hussar Regiment shows him wearing a splendid all scarlet uniform elaborately trimmed with gold lace, cords and buttons; a scarlet cap with fine fur and a standing white aigret. Scarlet bows are at the black cravat and the belts are covered with gold lace. He also has a leopard fur pelisse slung over his left shoulder that covers part of the back and emerges with the leopard's head next to his right hand. By contrast, the uncoloured print showing a stout Colonel Paul Podléak wearing a very plain jacket that could well be the cavalry-style buff leather protective garment. Other objects and garments conform to the hussar style. One item in particular that was adopted slowly in many armies during the following centuries, then very widely, was the sabretache, which was then a rather plain flat leather bag.[5]

The hussar's uniform being very peculiar, the unit commanders required extra money to clothe them properly. According to some correspondence of March 1704, this would come through a royal bonus, 1,000 livres per company that year, to have uniforms "that distinguish them" from other troops.[6]

The weapons basically consisted of an Hungarian style sabre that had a more or less curved blade of some 1 m 45 mm with a guard that had a partial knuckle bow or none at all, a pair of pistols and a carbine in some cases although this weapons appears to have been rarer amongst hussars. These arms were of varied origins, especially the swords that were the property of the individual troopers in this early period of the hussar's service in the French armies. Hussar officers also had a mace. The hussar saddle was light and very practical. Its seat and pistol holsters were covered by a sheepskin for troopers and a panther's pelt for officers. The origins of this type of this saddle, already common in the Austrian army, may have come with Mongol warriors who invaded the Hungarian plains in the thirteenth century. By the seventeenth century, it was an easily made and light saddle that featured a flat pommel and a fairly high "spoon" cantle with the saddle tree made of wood – beechwood was favoured – while the seat was of rawhide fastened by straps to each side of the tree. Over this was attached a loose padded fabric "pilch", itself covered by a housing that had pointed or square ends. A print in Daniel's history shows pointed housings strewn with lilies whereas Delaître's *c.* 1720 watercolour shows for Rattky's pale blue pointed housings with a large white lily and the pistol holsters covered with fur.[7]

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[4] Pierre Bénigny, 'Premiers hussards en France (1693)', *Costumes et figurines*, No. 1, October 1951, pp.3–5.

[5] Émile Vanson, 'Archives des Hussards', *La Sabretache*, VI (1898), pp.449–451, 523.

[6] AG, A1, Vol. 1780, Minister to Mr. d'Esgrigny, 8 March 1704.

Standards and Guidons

The very first hussar unit, raised as Kronenburg's in 1692 (soon changed to Mortany's), had a square standard of red silk field bearing an allegoric figure of a victorious angel on a mountain with a crown in one hand and a palm in the other, the words "Per Augusta ad Augusta" on a scroll above, gold embroidery and fringes. Podléak's had a light yellow guidon with a gold embroidered sun and the royal motto on a blue scroll. Rattky's had a blue guidon with a gold embroidered sun and the royal motto, three gold lilies, gold and silver embroidery and fringes. The size of Podléak's guidon was 100 by 107 cm.[8]

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[7] G. Tylden, *Horses and Saddlery* (London: J.A. Allen and Army Museums Ogilby Trust, 1965), pp.129–131; Pierre Bénigny, 'Premiers hussards en France (1693)', *Costumes et figurines*, No. 1, October 1951, p.5; Pétard, *Des sabres et des épées*, Vol. 1, pp.38–41.

[8] Charrié, *Drapeaux et étendards du roi*, pp.129, 167–168.

16

The "Wild Geese", or the Exiled Irish Army

Today, the Irish troops in the French army are usually defined as "Foreign" units and grouped with its other foreign mercenary regiments. There is, however, an essential difference: the Irish units were refugees driven out of Ireland after being defeated by the troops of William III following the hard-fought campaigns of 1689–1691. Swiss, German, Italian and other troops in the Sun King's French army were mercenary soldiers that served for money rather than for national or religious causes. In that sense, to take a modern equivalent of the Second World War, the Irish refugee soldiers were something like the Free French troops that rallied around General de Gaulle in Britain following the collapse of France in 1940. Louis XIV had supported King James II's army in Ireland during 1689 and would for many years to come when Irish soldiers were in France.

It was during the following reigns that, as their ranks of Irishmen thinned, more and more Frenchmen assumed their red uniforms, but retained the particular aura and respect the Irish enjoyed in France as men that drew their swords for their ancestral land and faith. Unlike Swiss, German or other foreign soldiers who went back to their native countries, Irish soldiers could not go home and they integrated into French society, joining a very large influx of Irish civilians who had also fled to France.

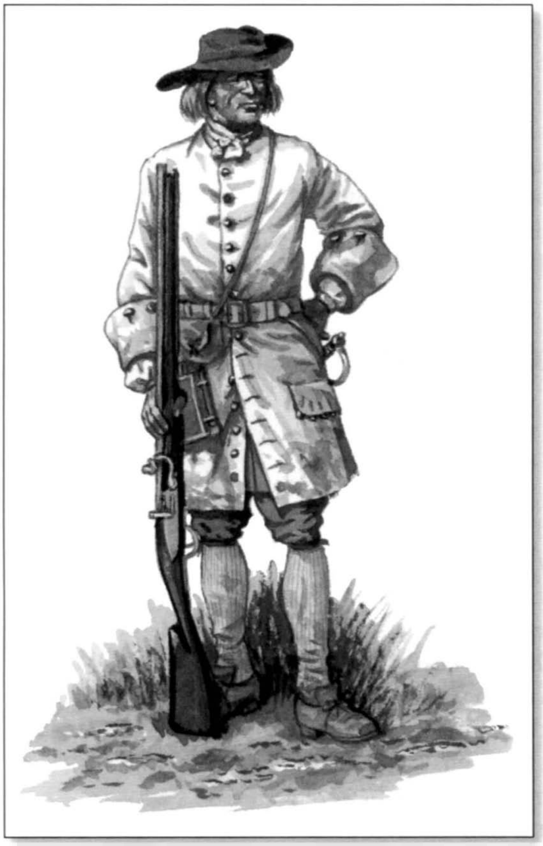
There were other military refugees from Britain besides Irishmen: hundreds of English and Scottish Catholic officers and men found refuge and, for some, careers in the French army. These and other examples, however, cannot compare with the massive exodus of Catholic Irish soldiers who went to France by the tens of thousands during the late 1680s and the early 1690s.

The Irish Jacobite Army in Ireland 1689–1691

King James II's Jacobite army in Ireland during 1689 was a substantial force said by Lord Tyrconnell to have numbered some 40,000 men and 54,450 by King William III's spies that claimed it had eight cavalry regiments, nine of dragoons and 60 of infantry. Its actual establishment included two troops of

Royal Horse Guards with a troop of horse grenadiers attached to the Horse Guards, eight regiments of cavalry, seven regiments of dragoons, the King's Regiment of Foot Guards that had two battalions and 51 infantry regiments of one battalion as well as a dozen independent companies.[1]

How many officers and men this army actually mustered is open to conjecture, but it can be assumed that many units were amalgamated into others or disbanded by October 1689. At that time, the 26 infantry regiments (including the Foot Guards) had a strength of 15,761 officers and men, the eight regiments of cavalry (including Life Guards) mustered 1,953 all ranks and the five dragoon regiments 1,513, for a grand total of 19,227 all ranks. Of these units, only one, Colonel Nicholas Purcell's Dragoon Regiment, served outside of Ireland. It was sent as a reinforcement to Lord Dundee's army of Highlanders. It landed in Scotland on 12 July 1689, took part in the victory at Killiecrankie on 27 July, but was likely scattered by the British at Dunkeld on 21 August.[2]



Private, Colonel Nicholas Purcell's Irish Dragoon Regiment, 1689. This unit was one of the 52 regiments in the 1689 Stuart army's establishment in Ireland of King James II. It was the only one detached to Scotland to reinforce Lord Dundee's Highland army and took part in its victory at Killiecrankie but was soon scattered by the British at Dunkeld. It seems to have served on foot. This impression of its appearance and armament by Robert Marrion is likely typical of many units of the Irish Jacobite units, some of whom appear to have had grey linen coats. (Private collection. Author's photo)

Mountcashel's Irish Brigade to France 1690

On 1 May, the first substantial group of Irish troops arrived in France. It was a brigade of five regiments (Mountcashel's, O'Brien's, Dillon's, Fielding's and Butler's) in exchange for the French expeditionary corps sent to Ireland. The *Mercure Galant* of May 1690 reported that "6,500 had embarked [at Cork] with about 300 women and children" now landing at Brest were good-looking men in good spirits and it appeared that they would become "very good troops" which was certainly a true intuition. The first three regiments had 16 companies, each of 80 men except for the colonel's which was stronger. The regiments had two battalions each. The colonels of the last two regiments had stayed Ireland and their regiments were weaker in all respects. On 18 June, they were incorporated into the first three that were reorganised into two battalions, each of six companies of 100 men each.[3]

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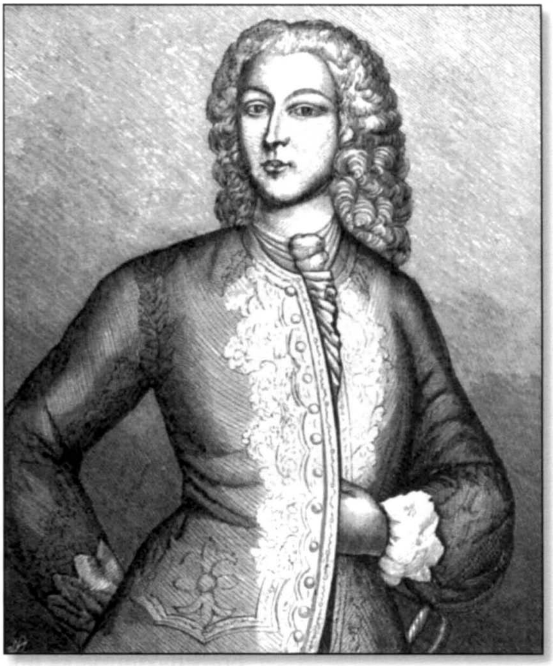
[1] Please see appendix for the 'List of King James's forces in Ireland' as reported in about mid 1689. From *Calendar of State Papers William and Mary Domestic Series 1689–1690*, King William's Chest 6, No. 60, 1689. Kindly shared by Giancarlo Boeri; David Murphy, *The Irish Brigades 1685–2006* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), pp.1–3.

[2] Murphy, *The Irish Brigades 1685–2006*, pp.4–7; Stephen Wood, *The Auld Alliance* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1989), pp.66–67.

By 24 June 1690, shortly before the battle of the Boyne, King James II's army had 25 infantry regiments, seven regiments of cavalry and six regiments of dragoons. Although defeated at the Boyne, the Jacobite army was not destroyed nor was it after another defeat at Aughrim in 1691. On 9 August, it listed 35 infantry regiments, eight cavalry regiments, five dragoon regiments as well as 23 garrison infantry regiments.[4]



Justin MacCarthy, Lord Mountcashel, c. 1690. (Print after portrait. Private collection. Author's photo)

Irish Jacobite Army Exodus to France 1691

How many came to France is conjectural and can range from a modest 14,000 soldiers with 4,000 women and children to a greatly exaggerated 450,000 even if that figure included all Irish refugees of both sexes and all ages, not just the soldiers, arriving during a number of years. Sir Charles Wogan writing in 1729 stated that 100,000 Irish had died since 1690 in the service of France. The figures could be high, but perhaps kept to a believable level that was nevertheless quite important. The *Mercure Galant* of January 1692 reported that 13,000 or 14,000 Irish had arrived at Brest following the Treaty of Limerick, but there had been not enough ships and that some 4,000 more were expected with General Viscount Patrick Sarsfield. The vast majority of these individuals would have been officers and soldiers with which an unknown number of dependents also made the crossing. There were also many individuals who came on their own before and after the evacuation of Limerick. According to recent research, a likely number could be about 25,000 to 30,000 soldiers of which some 5,371 were Mountcashel's Irish Brigade on 1 June 1690 and about 20,000 to 25,000 soldiers from 1691and the following years.[5]

The officers and men who landed in France were from regiments that had disintegrated, and they were reorganised into a new Stuart army on French soil. The Irish expatriate army of James II was now totally paid for by France at the behest of Louis XIV. This army was not seen by French authorities to be like other foreign troops in their armies. Its men were not paid the superior sums allowed to foreign mercenary troops in the Sun King's army, but received the same level of pay as French soldiers. No doubt, some Irishmen would have liked the extra money, but they were not mercenaries; they were military

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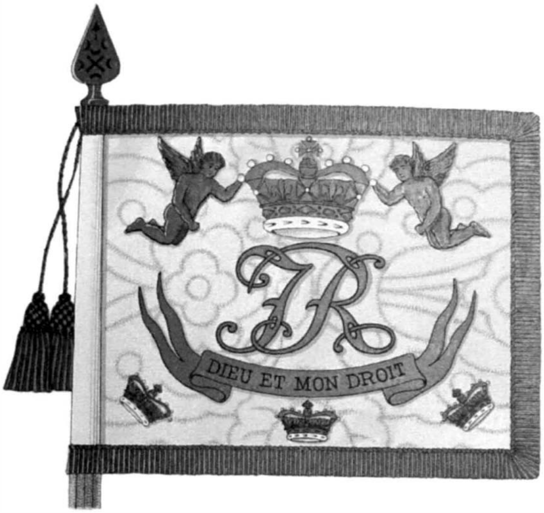
[3] Malaguti's *Historique du 87e régiment d'infanterie*, pp.6–7.

[4] David Murphy, *The Irish Brigades 1685–2006* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), pp.1–7.

[5] Dromantin, *Les réfugiés jacobites dans la France du XVIIIe siècle*, pp.37–38; McNally, *St Ruth's Fatal Gamble. The Battle of Aughrim 1691 and the Fall of Jacobite Ireland*, pp.190–199; Genet-Rouffiac, 'The Wild Geese in France 1688–1715: a French perspective', pp.34–35; Malaguti *Historique du 87e régiment d'infanterie*, p.4.



Guidon, 2nd Horse Guards of King Charles II, late seventeenth century. White silk, gold cypher of Charles II, scroll and angels, gold and red crowns, gold and crimson fringes, cords and tassels. (Print after Milne's ***Standards and Colours***. Author's photo)

refugees who fought for the Irish cause. Indeed, as General Boisselot reported to the court at Versailles in October 1691 after the evacuation of Limerick, the Irish soldiers arriving in France wanted "a general of their nation that obeyed to the Duc de Berwick" because he was the son of their King and, obviously, already a respected and beloved officer by his men.[6]

The Irish Jacobite Army in France 1691–1698

As Irishmen, the maintenance of their troops in France at that time was of outmost importance: they were the living symbol that the struggle for Ireland was going on. For France and many French historians, the new Stuart army of King James II entered French army service in September 1691. This was true in that it was totally subsidised by France and its various regiments were spread in various French armies on several fronts under superior French command, but it was also an entirely separate establishment.

The new Jacobite army now consisted of:

Two troops of Horse Guards
The King's Regiment of Horse
The Queen's Regiment of Horse
The King's Regiment of Dismounted Dragoons
The King's Royal Regiment of Irish Foot Guards
The Queen's Regiment of Infantry
The Infantry Regiment of the Marine
The Infantry Regiment of Limerick
The Infantry Regiment of Charlemont
The Infantry Regiment of Dublin
The Infantry Regiment of Athlone
The Infantry Regiment of Clancarty (or Klincarthy)
The Infantry Regiment of Galmoy
The Infantry Regiment of Bourke
The Horse Regiment of Sheldon
Three independent companies

It formed a force with an establishment of over 12,300 officers and men. As can be seen, nearly all units in France were foot troops. Units of this separate allied army of the Sun King's army before 1698 were involved in many engagements on many fronts. The main ones in which regiments of King James II participated were in:[7]

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[6] *Mémoires du Marquis de Sourches*, Vol. 3, p.310. The Sun King took the Irish soldiers' advice as Berwick evolved into an exceptional field commander, promoting him to lieutenant general in 1693 and marshal of France in 1706. King James II had also made him captain general of his Irish army in France in 1696.

1692: Steenkirk and Dudenhoven on the Rhine, Guillestre and Embrun in Dauphiné.
1693: Landen and Neerwinden in the Netherlands, Marsaglia in Piémont.
1694: Ter River, Palamos, Gerona and Castelfollit in Spain, La Perouse Valley in Piémont.
1695: Vaudois partisans in Piémont.
1696: Hostarich in Spain and Valenza in Piémont.
1697: the siege and capture of Barcelona in Spain.

By 1697, the France-based Irish contingents consisted of the following units:

In Louis XIV's service:
Lee's Infantry Regiment 3 battalions 2,013 officers and men
Clare's Infantry Regiment 3 battalions 2,013 officers and men
Dillon's Infantry Regiment 3 battalions 2,013 officers and men

This was Mountcashel's brigade whose establishment had been stabilised from 1692 when a third battalion was added to these three Irish infantry regiments in French service.

In James II's service:
Guards Infantry Regt. 2 battalions 1,342 officers and men
Queen's Infantry Regt. 2 battalions 1,342 officers and men
Marine Infantry Regt. 2 battalions 1,342 officers and men
Limerick Infantry Regt. 2 battalions 1,342 officers and men
Charlemont Infantry Regt. 2 battalions 1,342 officers and men
Dublin Infantry Regt. 2 battalions 1,342 officers and men
Athlone Infantry Regt. 2 battalions 1,342 officers and men
Klincarthy (or Clancarthy) Infantry Regt. 1 battalion 671 officers and men
King's Dismounted Dragoons Regt. 1 battalion 558 officers and men
Queen's Dismounted Dragoons Regt. 1 battalion 558 officers and men
3 Independent Infantry Companies 201 officers and men
1st Troop of Horse Guards 100 officers and men
2nd Troop of Horse Guards 100 officers and men
King's Cavalry Regt. 2 squadrons 372 officers and men
Queen's Cavalry Regt. 2 squadrons 372 officers and men

Total: in Louis XIV's service 6,039; in James II's service 12,326. Grand total: 18,365.[8]

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[7] Murphy, *The Irish Brigades 1685-2006*, pp.6-7.

[8] O'Callaghan, *History of the Irish brigades*, pp.141-142.

Merged into the French Army

At the end of the War of the League of Augsburg in 1697, the Treaty of Ryswick prescribed the disbandment of the Irish army in France of King James II and its units were actually disbanded during the following year. To the wily Sun King, this was a technicality amongst others to achieve a peace treaty. As in the rest of the French army, there were reductions and while all of King James II's regiments were indeed disbanded, its better officers and men were simply transferred into reorganised units in the French army. This nevertheless meant the disbandment of some 5,000 men that were left with little to live on and the Irish court at Saint-Germain-en-Laye did not have the resources to help them. But this was the usual price of peace that went on in the rest of the French army and in the opponent armies too.

On 26 and 27 February 1698, those officers and men kept in service went into the infantry regiments of:[9]

Lee
Dillon
Clare, O'Brien from 11 August 1706.
Dorrington organised on 27 February 1698.
Luttrell organised on 27 February 1698, Bourke from 18 June 1699, Wauchop from 20 March 1715 and into Spanish army 8 June 1715.
Albemarle organised on 27 February 1698, Fitz-Gérald (or Fitzgerald) from 10 February 1703, O'Donnell from 7 August 1708, into Clare 6 February 1715.
Berwick organised on 27 February 1698.
Galmoy organised on 27 February 1698, disbanded 30 January 1715.

The cavalry was represented by **Sheldon's Regiment** organised on 15 February 1698, Nugent from 20 January 1706.

During the War of the Spanish Succession, the Irish units in the French army were present on all fronts and participated in all major engagements (please see the appendices listing infantry regiments in Volume 2 and cavalry this volume).

In 1707, the Irish infantry was computed to have nine battalions totalling 117 companies. As time passed, the Irish proportion of the enlisted men decreased. In 1716, Irishmen in Dillon's Regiment represented all the officers as well as all the NCOs, corporals, most of the lance-corporals and privates for over two-thirds of the unit, the others being English and Scottish. By 1722, only a quarter of the enlisted men were from Ireland and adding English and Scots only came to a third of the regiment. The others were from Germany, Austria, Switzerland and France. Clearly, the era of expatriates was over and the Wild Geese were henceforth becoming a mercenary corps like the other foreign regiments of the French army. Its officers, however, largely remained Irish or descendants of Irish officers throughout the eighteenth century. As such, they were never seen by Frenchmen as mere mercenaries, but as the living symbols of the British persecutions that continued for Catholics in Ireland.[10]

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[9] Nathalie Genet-Rouffiac, 'The wild Geese in France, 1688–1715: a French Perspective', *The Irish Sword*, XXVI, No. 103, pp.40–42. In 1707, the Irish corps amounted to 117 companies in nine battalions. as per ANF, G7, 1780, Etat des Régiments d'Infanterie, Cavalerie et Dragons, 1707. The Irish infantry regiments named are: Lee, O'Brien, Dillon, Dorrington, Boerk (Bourke), Fitzgerald, Galmoy and Berwick. The Irish cavalry regiment of "Neugen" (Nugent) was also mentioned in 1709 as per ANF, G7, 1783.

Uniforms, Equipment, Weapons and Colours

The dress and arms of Jacobite army King James II between 1689 and 1691 during the campaigns in Ireland is largely unknown, although it is fairly reasonable to assume that many wore their own civilian costumes or, if loyal soldiers, the red coats of the British army which was also the basic colour of the royal livery of Great Britain. There is a description of Galmoy's Horse wearing "light grey coats, brass buttons, and lined red, black hats laced with galoon, and buff shoulder-Belts, and armed with carbines, pistols and swords". A March 1690 report mentioned that Tyrconnell had made an arrangement with the citizens of Dublin to furnish 6,000 pairs of shoes and 5,000 yards of grey cloth a month so it seems many would have had grey coats. Jacobite colours could have the red cross of St George and the standard with the initials JR as James II was, to many, the legitimate King of Great Britain, William of Orange being a usurper.[11]

As for the 1691–1698 period of the exiled army of King James II in France and serving with French armies, there is not a great deal known as to their dress, colours and standards apart that they seemingly all had red coats that were probably much the same as most of the British troops of King William III. A French print of King James II has in its background a small figure of a standard bearer wearing a red coat with blue cuffs that was probably meant to represent the King's Horse Guards. Another clue comes in 1697 when the Marine Regiment was described as "the sergeants wear blue coats with yellow trimmings and the private soldiers red coats with yellow trimming".[12]

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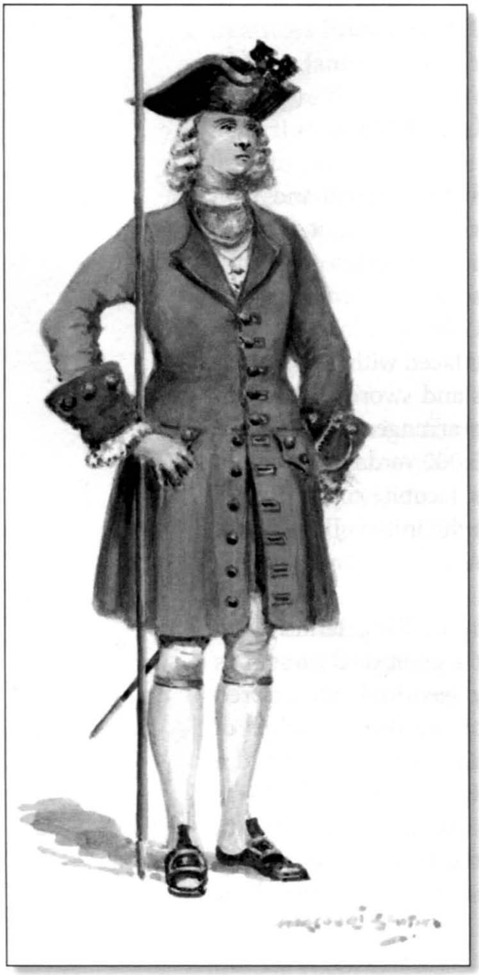
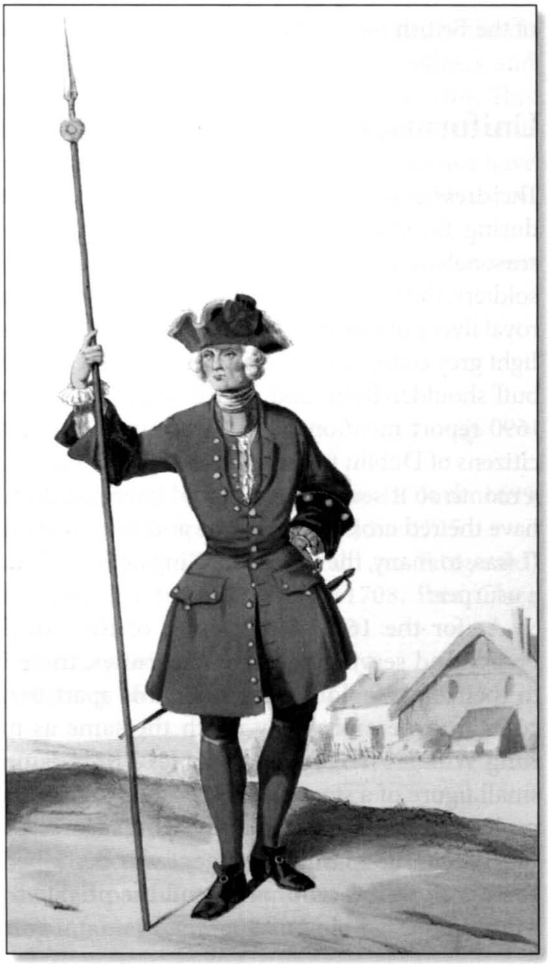
[10] André Corvisier, *Le soldat, de Louvois à Choiseul* (Paris: PUF, 1964), Vol. 1, pp.543–547. French army muster rolls generally are known and preserved from the early eighteenth century. In 1716, only Dillon's is known of the Wild Geese regiments, but it is obvious the trend applied to all as later rolls showed. The calendar of all muster rolls found is in André Corvisier, *Les contrôles de troupes de l'Ancien Régime* (Paris: Service historique des Armées, 1968), 4 volumes.

[11] *Calendar of State Papers Domestic* Series, 31/03/1690, Duke of Schomberg to the King, Kindly shared by Giancarlo Boeri; Walton, *History of the British Standing Army 1660–1700*, p.94 quoting the *London Gazette*, 27 September 1688 for Galmoy's Horse; on uniforms and colours, interested readers should consult McNally, *St Ruth's Fatal Gamble. The Battle of Aughrim 1691 and the Fall of Jacobite Ireland*, pp.277–284 for more on this topic including colour plates reconstructing the likely appearance of Jacobite troops.

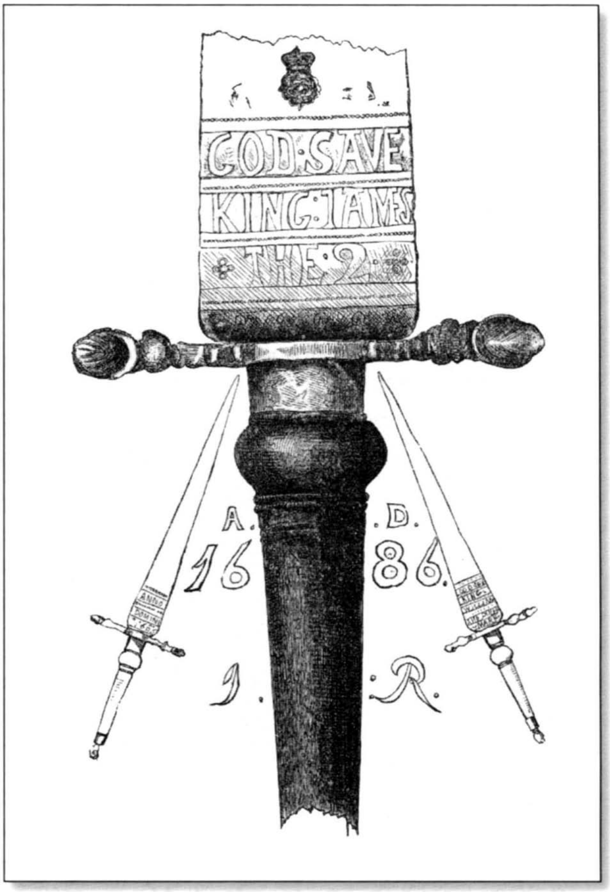
[12] *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series*, 05/01/1697. 'Received advice from Holland that several Irishmen, belonging to a marine regiment in the service of the French King [actually King James II] ... intend to make an attempt upon the King's person [William III] ...' Kindly shared by Giancarlo Boeri.



Officer of Dillon's Irish Regiment, 1690s. Scarlet coat, blue cuffs and lining, gold buttons and lace, white stockings with gold buttons, lace and gorget. We must note that there appears to be no formal evidence for the blue facing colour. Black is known to have been used from the early eighteenth century. Watercolour by Harcourt Smith. (Courtesy Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library, Providence, RI, USA)



Officer of Dillon's Irish Regiment, early eighteenth century. Scarlet coat, black cuffs, gold buttons and lace, scarlet waistcoat, breeches and stockings, gold buttons, hat lace and gorget. The spontoon's steel spear point has a golden round rosette below. (Print after Marbot. Canadian War Museum, Ottawa. Author's photo)



A plug bayonet of a loyal soldier of King James II, 1686. Whether this unknown soldier remained loyal to King James two years later is unknown, but many amongst his Irish troops may well have had bayonets with such inscriptions as shown in this print. (Private collection. Author's photo)

For the regiments of Mountcashel's brigade that came to France and were incorporated in the Sun King's army in May 1690, the evidence is also slim initially. It seems they must have had red coats. However, it is not until Lee's Infantry Regiment was described at Compiègne in 1698 that this is confirmed. Corfey related "red coat, green cuffs, green waistcoat, white stockings" while the *Mercure Galant* reported "red [coats] with green cuffs, red waistcoats and white buttonhole lace". Several more descriptions confirmed that the Irish infantry in French service from 1698 definitely had red uniforms which was the hallmark of the Wild Geese.[13]

Privates of Berwick's Regiment in 1699 and 1703 wore crimson red coats with yellow cuffs, lining, breeches and stockings and had false gold hat lace. Sergeants had "better [gold] hat lace". Drummers had yellow coats with red lining decorated with Berwick's livery lace. In 1703, sergeants had [false gold] lace edging their coat cuffs and pocket flaps as well as their hats. Officers had scarlet coat, yellow cuffs, lining, breeches and stockings. Their hat lace was of false gold.

Fitzgerald's Regiment had, in 1707, for its private soldiers scarlet coat with white cuffs and lining, crimson waistcoats, grey–white breeches and stockings, pewter buttons and white buttonhole lace on the waistcoats, false silver hat lace. Drummers wore grey–white coats lined with red, pewter buttons and livery lace.

Galmoy's Regiment wore, in 1708, scarlet coats with blue cuffs, brass buttons and red waistcoats for private soldiers. Sergeants had blue coats, red cuffs, brass buttons and red waistcoats. Drummers had blue coats with yellow cuffs and lining trimmed with the Galmoy livery lace.

The Dillon family's livery in Ireland was blue. After Colonel Dillon and the unit he commanded came to France in 1690, it was deemed better to change his livery coat colour to red, especially as his livery lace, which it kept, was identical to the King of France's livery lace, a white chain on red ground. When this occurred exactly is unknown.

Many Irish regiments in French service had colours with the English red cross edged with white. The red cross had the motto IN HOC SIGNO VINCES in gold letters. The quarters each had a gold British crown with a red cap within. The quarters of regimental colours were usually bi-coloured.

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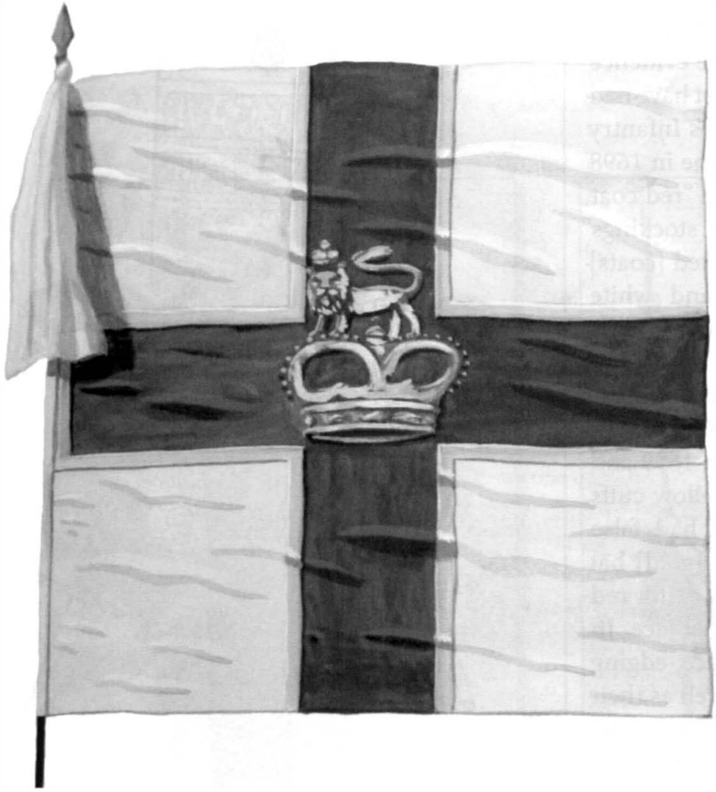
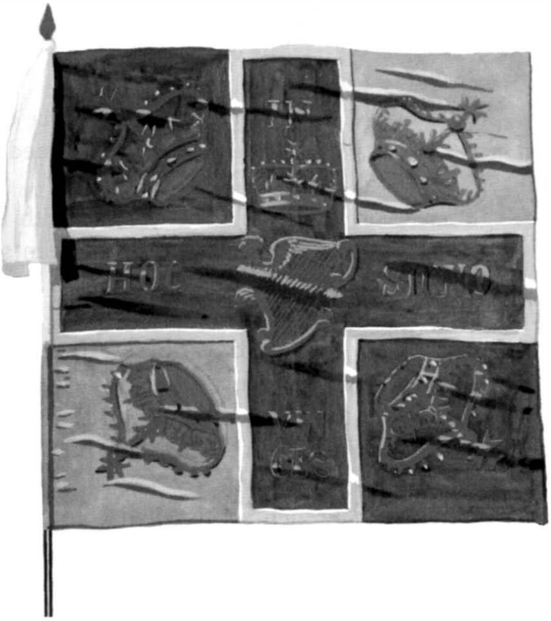
[13] Robert Hall, *Flags and Uniforms of French Infantry under Louis XIV 1688–1714*, pp.93–94; note on Dillon's livery, Archives Raoul et Jean Brunon, Aix-en-Provence, box Y2.





Above: Regimental colour, Dorrington's Irish Regiment, late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. The regimental colours was white with a red cross bordered white and a gold crown surmounted by a lion. The colonel's colour was identical except for the centre having the cipher JR with a smaller crown above. (Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library, Providence, RI, USA. Author's photo)

Right: O'Brien's Irish Regiment's regimental colour, late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. Red cross edged white, gold crowned harp at centre with motto "IN HOC SIGNO VINCES"; quarters 1 and 4 red with gold crown; quarters 2 and 3 green with gold crown. Most Irish infantry regiments had colours with this elaborate design. (Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library, Providence, RI, USA. Author's photo)

For instance, Dillon's, Bulkeley's and Lee's regiments had quarter 1 and 4 in red, 2 and 3 green while O'Brien and Clare had them in yellow. For the colonel's colour, each quarter was white with the gold crown. Not all regiments had the preceding design. Dorrington's had the red cross too but a white field with only the central badge being different: a large gold British crown with a lion for regimental colours and the crowned initials JR for the colonel's colour. Berwick had the red cross edged white with the IN HOC SIGNO VINCES motto also, but green quarters and red angular bars. Galmoy had the red cross with the gold initials LL at centre and the motto PRO DEO REGE ET PATRIA, quarters 1 and 4 yellow edged blue, 2 and 3 green edged yellow, each quarter with a gold crowned harp. Klincarty's had the same except for red wavy angular bars. Luttrell's and Bourke's had the red cross without edging with the motto NIHIL DUST SPERANTIBUS IN DEO, yellow quarters with a red lion in 1 and 4, a red hand in 2 and 3. Albemarle's and Fitz-Gérald had the French design with a plain white cross, each green quarter having three wavy red bars.[14]

As can be seen from above, and there are other examples, Irish colours were a fairly diverse and confusing topic in the days of Sun King and James II. It was the result of the desperate times that Ireland and the Irish people experienced at the end of the seventeenth century.

Scots Jacobite Refugees

With the numerous Irish who came to France were also a small group of about 150 Scots that remained loyal to King James II, who was also King James VII of Scotland. These were all gentlemen of honourable birth and all had been officers of Lord Dundee's army in 1689 that went to France thereafter instead of remaining in the Highlands and submitting to "Dutch" William. Once in France, they were sent to Lille and Arras where they were provided with some substance by Louis XIV. They wished to continue to fight the enemy and, in about 1692, formed into an independent company. King James II tried to dissuade them since he did not have the resources to maintain such a corps, but they persisted, went to his court at Saint-Germain, lined up in the courtyard, were reviewed with emotion and gratitude by James who approved their plan. Their company gathered about 150 Scots officers now reduced to being private soldiers under Captain Thomas Brown, who had been a colonel, as well as lieutenants Alexander Gordon and Andrew Scot. They were assigned to Marshal Noaille's army at France's southern border with Spain in Roussillon and the company was formally formed receiving pay, arms and clothing. The marshal was impressed by the company's bearing and gave them a mule to carry their baggage, which was especially appreciated when they crossed the Pyrenees.

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[14] We have mainly consulted Pierre Charrié, *Drapeaux et étendards du roi* (Paris: Léopard d'or, 1989), pp.32, 100–101 and P. Fourré, *Les drapeaux de l'infanterie française sous Louis XIV 1638–1715* (Saint-Cloud: privately published typescript with drawings, 1977). Hall in *Flag and Uniforms of the French Infantry*, plates 070 and 071 also shows French-style different colours with a white cross based on Du Vivier for Berwick, Albemarle and Galmoy between *c.* 1698 and 1702–1703, but this is not shown by Charrié and Fourré.

In May 1693, with two other Scots independent companies under captain Foster and Brycot mostly made up of deserters from the British Royal Scots Regiment, they distinguished themselves on the Spanish frontier at the assault and capture of Rosas. This small Scots battalion of three companies then went up to Alsace in late 1693 and to Vieux-Brisac in February 1695, the company of officers being sent to Fort Cadette on the Rhine then to Strasbourg in June 1696 and captured an island on the Rhine from German troops that was later named *Isle d'Écosse* (Island of Scotland). They later had a skirmish with some Austrian hussars of which they "killed several of them, got a few horses, and some baggage". By then, the 1697 peace treaty was being agreed to. The officer's company was much weakened and disbanded with its remaining members being released from service while the soldiers of the two other Scots companies were incorporated into "my Lord Malock's dragoons".[15]

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[15] 'An Account of Dundee's officers after they went to France', in *Miscellanea Scotica* (Glasgow: John Wylie & Co., 1820), pp.69–99 is the most detailed account. It also notes that Captain Brown was a miser and caused much hardship because of that sinful conduct; Wood, *The Auld Alliance*, pp.69–71. According to Wood, Captain Brown, said to be formerly a colonel, was likely a captain in Wachopp's Regiment in 1688. Lieutenant Andrew Scot cannot be traced, Lieutenant Alexander Gordon might have been in the 1st Royal Scots and Ensign James Buchan had been Captain-Lieutenant in the 21st during 1687. James Grant, *The Scottish Soldiers of Fortune* (London, 1889), pp.296–299 has the "most romantic" account of this company in that it gives the impression that its officers had previously been colonels. It is interesting to note that "there were not [in the officer's company over] four Roman Catholics, but several Protestant divines, who at the revolution, when the Episcopal clergy of Scotland were mobbed and murdered by Presbyterians, went to the Highlands with Dundee – who for their good services gave them [officer's] commissions – and after his death went to France."

Appendix I

Cavalry Regiments 1643–1715

For maximum simplicity we list the regiments as follows. Regimental name and date of creation are given for those raised from 14 May 1643 (date when Louis XIV becomes king), regimental name changes with date, disbandment or amalgamation date. The great majority of units went by the names of their current mestre de camp. Dates are not shown when the unit existed after 1715. Units with provincial names or other permanent designations such as La Reine did not change names.

Dragoon and hussar regiments have those designations after their names.

The great majority of the units listed below took part in many battles and campaigns; just listing them all would require at least another volume. We have, however, listed in brackets after the unit's designation, names of some of the better known battles. We also add a few of the more uncommon campaigns. Spelling of names, which varies enormously in various sources, follows Susane's compilation.

We outline some 734 regiments that were either existing in 1643 or created between then in 1715. That comes to a few regiments more than the 728 infantry regiments we computed in Volume 2. Such a high number was something of a revelation in that it covered only about a quarter of the officers and men in the army that nevertheless made it the greatest cavalry force in Europe; it was also the most expensive part of the Sun King's army, which shows that the kingdom's financial backbone could assume it. Spelling in the sources varies greatly and, for instance, Susane's Marivault is Marinaulx in the Invalides register. The 1692 uniform list mentions line cavalry regiments not otherwise documented, such as: Chastelet, Doria, Grand-Royaux, 2nd Langallerie, Lestoile, Narbonne, Maure, 2nd Quadt, 2nd Royal-Allemand, Suilly and Trassant. The listing, huge as it seems to be, is not exhaustive because a number of regiments are not mentioned by Susane appear in other sources, often in a fleeting way without details. Overall, the total may have been close to 750.[1]

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[1] This listing is primarily based on the monumental compilation in Susane's, *Histoire de la cavalerie française* Vol. 3 with some data from Hall, Boeri and Roumegoux, *Guidons, Flags and Uniforms of French Dragoons, Militia, Artillery and Bombardiers under Louis XIV 1688–1714* and their *Standards and Uniforms of French Cavalry under Louis XIV 1688–1714.* They also list

Regiments existing on 14 May 1643

Carabins d'Arnaud, **Vandy** 24 October 1655, **Vaubrun** 1659, **Quincy** 18 April 1658, into **Dragons du Roi** 18 April 1661.

Colonel Général (Italy 1644–1648), disbanded 1656.

Mestre de Camp Général (Rocroi 1643), **Gassion** 30 May 1646, **La Villette** 28 August 1647 (Dunes 1658), disbanded 20 July 1660.

Souvré, **Duc d'Anjou** 20 March 1647, **Orléans** 12 April 1660, disbanded 18 April 1661.

Castellan, **Saint-Aunetz** 16 November 1644, **La Marcousse** 1650, disbanded 18 April 1661.

Cardinal-Duc (Rocroi), **Royal** 1 August 1643 (Dunes 1658, Flanders 1667, Holland 1672, defeats a large Imperial cavalry force near Strasbourg 1679, capture of Heidelberg 1693. Blenheim 1704).

Enghien, **Condé** 26 December 1646, follows the Prince of Condé during the 1649–1650 Fronde and into Spanish service, re-admitted in French army 7 November 1659, disbanded 18 April 1661.

La Meilleraye (Dunes 1658), disbanded 18 April 1661.

Guiche (Rocroi 1643), **Gramont** 4 October 1645 (Dunes 1658), disbanded 18 April 1661.

Canillac, disbanded 18 April 1661.

Treillis, **Le Ferron** 14 April 1644, disbanded 1657.

Saint-Simon (Dunes 1658), disbanded 20 July 1660.

Fusiliers à cheval de son Éminence, **Fusiliers à cheval du Roi** 1 August 1643, converted into a line cavalry unit as **Régiment du Roi** 16 February 1646 (Rocroi 1643, Dunes 1658, Lille 1667, Holland 1672, Saint-Denis 1678, Luxembourg 1684, Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Neerwinden 1693, Blenheim 1704, Malplaquet 1709, Denain 1712).

Turenne, **Duras** 22 February 1646, **Nanteuil** 12 November 1651, disbanded 18 April 1661.

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post-1688 units not found in Susane, notably from the Invalides registers. The 1692 and 1702 lists also mention many regiments without giving information on their uniforms.

La Meilleraye (Hungarian), into **La Meilleraye** in 1656.

Sirot (Hungarian) (Rocroi 1643), disbanded 1644.

Marchin (Liège), rebels in the Fronde and merged into other regiments 1 March 1650.

Léchelle (Liège) (Rocroi 1643), into **Marchin** 1644.

Streef (Weimar), converted into independent companies 1654.

Eggenfeld (Weimar), disbanded 18 April 1661.

Chambres (Weimar), **Mespas** 1646, **Créqui** 1653, disbanded 20 July 1660.

Betz (Weimar), disbanded 1650.

Zillard (Weimar), **Beintz** 1648, **Navailles** 25 December 1650, **Calvisson** 3 May 1653, **Villars** 7 September 1655, disbanded 1656.

Bouillon (Weimar), **Kanofski** 1643, **Turenne** 20 February 1646, disbanded 1650.

Watronville (Weimar), Tracy 17 May 1643, disbanded 16 March 1649.

Halluyn (Weimar), disbanded October 1648.

Goesbriant (Weimar), **Rosen** nouveau [new] 1643, into **Rosen vieux** [old] 1645.

Schack (Weimar) (Rocroi 1643), **Kalthoff** 1648, disbanded 1650.

Nothafft (Weymar), **Margraf** 1644, **Lameth** 1647, **Schultz** 1648, disbanded 1648.

Tupalden (Weimar), **Ruvigny** 26 November 1647, **La Châtre** June 1657, disbanded 20 July 1660.

Rosen vieux [old] (Weimar), **Rosen** 1645, **Rosen-Serres** 1650, disbanded 1653.

Rusworms or **Wunsworth** (Weimar), into other units 1645.

Fleschstein (Weimar), **Nimitz** 1649, becomes a French regiment, **Turenne** 3 June 1651 (Stenay 1654), **Colonel Général de la Cavalerie** 24 April 1657 (Dunes 1658), disbanded 20 July 1660.

Bergh (German), disbanded 1651.

Plessis-Praslin, Ruvigny 16 June 1645, **Vignau** 23 November 1647, **Colonel Général de la Cavalerie** 20 July 1653, **Vignau** 1654, disbanded 1656.

Praslin, Plessis-Praslin [2nd] 22 July 1643, converted into independent companies 1650.

Aumont (Rocroi 1643), **Villequier** 5 October 1644, **Chappes** 26 February 1646, **Villequier** 1651, Aumont 1654 (Stenay 1654, Dunes 1658), **Cuirassiers du Roi** 1656 (Lille 1667, Holland 1672, Senef 1674, Saint-Denis 1678, Luxembourg 1684, Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Neerwinden 1693, Torino 1706).

Saint-André-Montbrun, disbanded 18 April 1658.

Mérinville, disbanded 28 November 1658.

Saint-Aignan, disbanded end of 1643.

Saint-Remèze, disbanded end of 1643.

Gesvres, Gandelus 10 August 1643, **Couvonges** 17 June 1646, **Gesvres** 1646 (Stenay 1654), disbanded 18 April 1661.

Du Terrail, Ternes 10 August 1646, **Guitaut** August 1653, disbanded 1654.

Boissac, disbanded 1651.

Lénoncourt (Rocroi 1643), **Montignac** 10 August and **Linières** 17 September 1643, disbanded 25 April 1646.

Bergeré (Rocroi 1643), disbanded 1647.

Châteaubriant, disbanded 1656.

Bussy-Almoru, de Guer 1650, disbanded 1652.

Balthazar, Bourry 13 August 1643, **Gesvres** 30 September 1645, into other units 1646.

Vatimont (Rocroi 1643), **Noirlieu** April 1646, **Rubécourt** 1649, **d'Espiez** (Stenay 1654), disbanded 1656.

La Ferté-Imbault-dragon 1645, **Genlis** 25 May 1651 (Stenay 1654, Dunes 1658), disbanded 18 April 1661.

La Chapelle-Ballou, Saussay 1644, **Lillebonne** 12 February 1646, disbanded 18 April 1661.

La Feuillade, disbanded 1647.

La Ferté-Sennectère (Rocroi 1643), disbanded 9 April 1661.

Aubais, **Bougy** 13 November 1646, **Gonzagues** 22 May 1657, disbanded late 1657.

Villeneuve, disbanded 1647.

Beauregard-Champron, **Feuquières** 19 December 1644, disbanded November 1652.

Arzilliers, **des Fourneaux** 1648, **Brinon** 6 October 1651 (Stenay 1654, Dunes 1658), disbanded 20 July 1660 except for one company that goes to Hungary in 1664 and basis for re-raising the regiment 7 December 1665 (Holland 1672), **Varennes** 19 February 1674, disbanded except for one company 8 August 1679, re-raised 7 May 1682, **Robin** 30 March 1693, **Rennepont** 18 October 1693, disbanded 10 July 1714.

Roquelaure (Rocroi 1643), disbanded 18 April 1661.

La Clavière (Rocroi 1643), **Meille** 20 August 1646, **Marins** 22 November 1652, disbanded 18 April 1661.

Bussy de Fair, disbanded 30 August 1644.

Couvron, into **Saint-Aunetz** 19 November 1644.

La Mothe-Houdancourt, disbanded 15 January 1649.

Magalotti (Italian), **Créqui** 6 March 1646 (Dunes 1658), disbanded 18 April 1661.

Rosen (German) **Dragoons**, destroyed at Rethel 1650.

Goesbrillant (German) **Dragoons**, **Tracy** 28 May 1644, **Cimetierre** 1 April 1650, Tracy 12 March 1651, disbanded 1655.

Harcourt (Dunes 1658), disbanded 20 July 1651.

Coupet, **Maucomble** 1642, disbanded 1645.

Fresnay, **Léran** 1643, disbanded 1643.

Monti (Italian), disbanded 1643.

Beauveau (Liège), **Beauveau-Croates** 1645, **Espense** 2 April 1651 (Dunes 1658), disbanded 18 April 1661.

Alais, Léran August 1653, disbanded 1653.

Grancey, disbanded late 1651.

Maineville (Rocroi), **Roncherolle** 24 February 1645, **Rouvray** 28 May 1649, disbanded 20 July 1660.

La Bössière de Chambors, Valavoire 20 September 1648, **Cardinal-Mazarin** 3 February 1652, **Belin** 1656, disbanded 12 April 1661.

Conti (Rocroi 1643), **Barrières** 7 April 1649, follows Condé and disbanded 20 January 1650, re-established 13 March 1654, into **Conti-étranger** in 1660.

Couvonges, into **Gesvres** 17 June 1645.

Sully (Rocroi 1643), **Charost** 22 February 1644, **Marsillac** 11 September 1646, joins Fronde and disbanded 3 April 1649.

Marolles (Rocroi 1643), disbanded January 1644.

Wurmberg (Croats) (Rocroi 1643), disbanded late 1643.

Regiments raised from 14 May 1643

Comte d'Auvergne 30 June 1643, disbanded late 1643.

Reine-Mère 4 July 1643, for Queen Anne d'Autriche, becomes **La Reine Cavalerie**.

Balthazar-croates (Croatian) 13 August 1643, becomes **Royal-Cravattes**.

Noailles 12 September 1643, disbanded late 1643, re-raised 26 June 1650, disbanded 1652.

Oehm (German) October 1643, disbanded 13 February 1651.

Scherpfengel (German) October 1643, destroyed at Duttlingen.

Wittgenstein (German) October 1643, destroyed at Duttlingen.

Dolhross (German) **Dragoons** October 1643, destroyed at Duttlingen.

L'Altesse 31 December 1643 for Gaston d'Orléans, brother of Louis XIII (Dunes 1658), disbanded 13 February 1660 after Gaston died.

Mazarin-français 5 March 1644, **Piennes** 15 February 1651, disbanded 20 July 1660.

Gritti (Italian) 6 March 1644, **Pinos** 10 July 1649, disbanded late 1651.

Mazarin-étranger 5 August 1644, **Duc-d'Anjou-étranger**, became **Orléans-cavalerie**.

Pont-de-Gault (Italian) 15 August 1644, **Saint-Germain-Apchon** 16 June 1651, disbanded 20 July 1660.

Erlach (German) 4 October 1644, **Hollach** 10 February 1650, follows Condé 1650, in royal service 7 November 1659, disbanded 20 July 1660.

Mazarin (Italian) 21 October 1644, **Broglio** 4 September 1651 (Stenay 1654), disbanded 20 July 1660.

Pomares (Italian) 11 February 1645, disbanded 1648.

Duras (German) 25 February 1645, into Turenne 1649.

Elboeuf 25 February 1645, joins Fronde 1648, disbanded 3 April 1649.

Coeuvres 25 March 1645 (Dunes 1658), disbanded 18 April 1661.

Gamaches (German) 29 March 1645, disbanded late 1650.

Prince Maurice 18 June 1645, disbanded February 1652 and joins Condé.

Bonichaussen (German) 14 July 1645, disbanded February 1650.

Esclainvilliers 15 October 1645, became **Commissaire-Général** April 1656 (Dunes 1658), disbanded about 1660.

Dragons-étrangers du Cardinal raised in Germany end of 1645, converted to line cavalry 23 May 1649 and retitled **Mazarin-étranger deuxième** [second], **Montevergues** 16 May 1651, **Son Éminence** 3 February 1652 (Stenay 1654), **La Feuillade** 7 February 1657 (Dunes 1658), disbanded 18 April 1661.

Pallau 20 May 1646, **Meste-de-Camp-Général** 30 May 1646, **Clérambault** 31 August 1653 (Stenay 1654), disbanded 10 April 1661.

Quérieu 26 August 1646, disbanded 17 March 1648.

Coudray-Montpensier 12 October 1646 (Dunes 1658), disbanded 18 April 1661.

Bourlemont 13 November 1646, disbanded 18 April 1661.

Aguilar (Catalan) 6 January 1647, disbanded 29 November 1658.

Illes (Catalan) 6 January 1647, disbanded 18 April 1661.

Marins 25 March 1647, disbanded 1648.

Seyron 24 April 1647, disbanded 1649.

Rouanette 6 July 1647, disbanded 20 January 1650.

Vidame d'Amiens 10 July 1647, disbanded 1656.

Clère 10 July 1647, disbanded 1653.

Créqui-français 16 December 1647, disbanded late 1648.

Estrades 12 February 1648, **Montcavrel** 15 September 1651 (Dunes), disbanded 18 April 1661.

Cardinal de Sainte-Cécile 13 February 1648, **La Fare** 26 May 1649, disbanded February 1654.

Moustaros (Catalan) 13 February 1648, disbanded late 1652.

Du Tort 13 February 1648, disbanded 1649.

Montécler 13 February 1648, **Coret** October 1650, disbanded late 1650.

Ravenel 13 February 1648, **Montbas-Bret**, disbanded 1654.

Beauvisé 13 February 1648, disbanded late 1650, re-raised January 1655, **Espinay** 1658 (Dunes 1658), disbanded 1658.

Beaumont 13 February 1648, disbanded late 1648.

Saarbruck (German) 13 February 1648, **Bamback** 1648, disbanded late 1648.

Boucheneau (Walloon) 13 February 1648, disbanded late 1648.

Digby (English) 8 May 1648, disbanded late 1648, re-raised 13 August 1652, disbanded 12 December 1659.

Grandpré 9 July 1648, **Joyeuse** 26 February 1650 (Dunes 1658), disbanded 18 April 1661.

Harcourt 9 July 1648, disbanded late 1648.

Retz January 1649, for the Paris Parliament, sometimes called **Corinthe**, disbanded 3 April 1649.

Noirmoutiers January 1649, for the Paris Parliament, disbanded 3 April 1649.

Beaufort January 1649, for the Paris Parliament, disbanded late April 1649.

Bouillon January 1649, for the Paris Parliament, disbanded late April 1649.

Rieux January 1649, for the Paris Parliament, disbanded 3 April 1649.

Libremont January 1649, for the Paris Parliament, disbanded 3 April 1649.

Chémerault 8 January 1649, into **Chémerault-étranger** late 1650.

Roannèz 12 January 1649, disbanded 1653.

Amilly 16 January 1649 (Dunes 1658), disbanded August 1658.

Renneville 16 January 1649, **Paloiseau** November 1652, disbanded late 1653, re-raised 1655, disbanded late 1656.

Enghien 17 January 1649, for the Fronde rebels and follows Prince Condé, reintegrated in royal army 7 November 1659, disbanded 12 April 1661.

Vendôme 17 January 1649, for the Fronde rebels, disbanded late 1649.

Du Tot 18 January 1649, disbanded late 1649.

Pompadour 20 January 1649, disbanded late 1649.

Laurière 20 January 1649, disbanded late 1649.

Pardaillan 22 January 1649, disbanded 1654.

Vieux-Maisons 22 January 1649, disbanded late 1649.

Matignon 25 January 1649, disbanded late 1649.

Cormesnil 25 January 1649, disbanded late 1649.

Marey 27 January 1649, disbanded December 1650.

Quincé 10 February 1649, disbanded late 1650.

Foucault 23 February 1649, into **Créqui** 4 June 1651, which becomes **Créqui-français** 20 November 1651, **Foucault** 9 April 1655, disbanded 18 April 1661.

Bissy 23 February 1649, **La Mothe-Houdancourt** 6 January 1652, **Bissy** 1655, disbanded 18 April 1661.

Crusy 10 March 1649, disbanded late 1649.

Apchon 7 April 1649, disbanded late 1649.

Mercoeur 7 April 1649, disbanded 1659.

Maulevrier 7 April 1649, disbanded late 1649.

Meille 20 June 1649, disbanded late 1649.

Fabry 20 June 1649, disbanded late 1649.

La Vieuville 20 June 1649, disbanded late 1649.

Chamboy 20 June 1649, disbanded late 1649, re-raised 13 February 1650, **Saint-Loup** 28 August 1657 (Dunes 1658), disbanded 1659.

Montbéliard 1 March 1650, Raab 1655, disbanded 1666.

Lameth 3 March 1650, disbanded 2 January 1653.

La Trémouille 8 May 1650, disbanded 22 December 1651.

Hocquincourt 30 May 1650, disbanded 1659.

Coster 30 May 1650, disbanded late 1650.

Bridieu 30 May 1650, disbanded late 1657.

Epernon 26 June 1650, disbanded 20 July 1660.

Alègre 7 July 1650, mutiny and disbanded 20 October 1652.

Richelieu 18 July 1650, disbanded 20 July 1660.

Tarente 18 July 1650, disbanded late 1651.

Folleville 18 July 1650, disbanded late 1654.

Saint-Géran 27 July 1650, disbanded late 1650.

Lévis 27 July 1650, disbanded 24 October 1651.

Pionsac 27 July 1650, disbanded late 1652.

Duc de Valois 30 August 1650, disbanded 27 February 1651.

Roquépine 2 January 1651 (Dunes 1658), disbanded 18 April 1661.

Resnel 1 March 1651, disbanded 18 April 1661.

Bellebrune 15 March 1651, disbanded 1656.

Chevalier d'Aubeterre 10 April 1651, disbanded 18 April 1661.

Beauvau-étranger 9 June 1651, disbanded 1656.

Podewilz-étranger 9 June 1651 (Stenay 1654, Dunes 1658), disbanded 18 April 1661.

La Guillotière 12 July 1651 (Dunes 1658), disbanded 18 April 1661.

Oviliers 24 September 1651, disbanded 1652.

Saint-Mégrin 24 September 1651, **Saint-Luc** 1653, disbanded 1654.

Bourdeilles 24 September 1651, disbanded 28 December 1651.

Sauveboeuf 24 September 1651, disbanded 1652.

La Vieuville 24 September 1651, disbanded 1655.

Saint-Arbre 24 September 1651, disbanded 20 July 1660.

Humières 24 September 1651, disbanded 18 April 1661.

Saint-Mathieu 24 September 1651, disbanded late 1651.

Montpouillan 24 September 1651, disbanded 1656.

La Ferté-dragon 25 September 1651, into **Dragons du Roi** 30 September 1660.

Brinon-étranger 25 September 1651, disbanded 20 July 1660.

Aubeterre 4 October 1661, disbanded 1657.

La Serre-Aubeterre 10 October 1651, disbanded 1653.

Albret 10 October 1651, **Monglat** 1655, disbanded late 1655.

Jarnac 10 October 1651, disbanded August 1652.

Montendre 10 October 1651, disbanded August 1652.

Montaussier 10 October 1651, disbanded August 1652.

Rochelidoux 9 November 1651, disbanded late 1652.

La Roque-Saint-Chamarand 9 November 1651 (Stenay 1654, Dunes 1658), disbanded 20 July 1660.

Clermont 22 November 1651, disbanded late 1652.

Ville 27 November 1651, disbanded 18 April 1661.

Castelnau 5 November 1651 (Dunes 1658), disbanded late 1659.

Biron 26 December 1651, disbanded late 1652.

Mautauban 6 January 1652, disbanded 18 April 1661.

Estoges 17 January 1652, disbanded late 1652.

Dancourt 31 January 1652, disbanded late 1652.

Mancini (Walloon) 3 February 1652, **Bouillon** 22 July 1652, **Melin** 25 May 1658 (Dunes 1658), disbanded 20 July 1660.

Marigny-Pibrac 8 February 1652, **La Batut** 1653, disbanded late 1653.

Bussy-Rabutin 12 February 1652, **Mestre de Camp Général** May 1654 (Dunes 1658), disbanded 1665.

Marolles-étranger 15 February 1652, **Soissons** 1657 (Dunes 1658), disbanded 18 April 1661.

Maineville 17 February 1652, disbanded 1656.

Tresme 24 February 1652, **Brégy** 1653, disbanded 18 April 1661.

Bussy de Vair 23 February 1652, **Montégut** 1653, disbanded late 1653.

Broglio-Étranger 25 February 1652 (Stenay 1654, Dunes 1658), disbanded 18 April 1661.

Estissac 12 March 1652, disbanded November 1652.

Gohas (also called **Armagnac**) 12 March 1652, **La Valette** 18 May 1656 (Dunes 1658), disbanded 20 July 1660.

Orval 17 March 1652, disbanded late 1652.

Fabert 20 March 1652 (Stenay 1654), disbanded 18 April 1661.

Montdejeu (also called **Schulemberg**) 20 March 1652, disbanded 18 April 1661.

Du Biez 23 March 1652, disbanded late 1652.

Nieul 25 May 1652, disbanded late 1652.

La Neuville-Roland 30 March 1652, disbanded late 1652.

Malves 30 March 1652, disbanded late 1652.

Bezançon 30 March 1652, **Lameth** 1655, disbanded late 1655.

Esquancourt 2 April 1652 (Dunes 1658), disbanded 20 July 1660.

Thiernut 12 April 1652, disbanded late 1652.

Lesdiguières 30 April 1652, disbanded late 1652.

Lainville 15 May 1652, Ray 1653, disbanded late 1653.

Bourg-L'Espinasse 24 June 1652, **Maurignon** 10 November 1652, disbanded late 1656.

Hocquincourt 2 July 1652, disbanded late 1653.

La Salle 25 July 1652, disbanded November 1652.

Plessis-Bellière 5 August 1652, **Montplaisir** 18 December 1654, **La Rablière** 16 November 1657, disbanded 18 April 1661.

Montgobert 12 August 1652, disbanded 18 April 1661.

Grandpré 18 August 1652, disbanded 18 April 1661.

Saint-Évremont 15 Septembre 1652, **Poyanne** 1653, disbanded late 1653.

Candale 16 September 1652, **Foix-Candale** 1658, disbanded 20 July 1660.

Montclar (Catalan) 13 October 1652 (Stenay 1654, Dunes 1658), disbanded 18 April 1661.

Caramany (Catalan) 13 October 1652, **Langey** 1653, **Conti-étranger** 1653, disbanded 18 April 1661.

Hôtel 8 November 1652, disbanded late 1653.

Nort 30 November 1652, disbanded late 1652.

Gontéry-étranger 28 December 1652, disbanded 20 July 1660.

Huxelles 25 January 1653, **Puymarais** 1655, disbanded late 1655.

Givry 4 April 1653, disbanded 18 April 1661.

Gassion 8 April 1653 (Stenay 1654, Dunes 1658), disbanded 18 April 1661.

Guiche 25 April 1653 (Dunes 1658), disbanded 1659.

La Luzerne 6 May 1653 (Stenay 1654), disbanded 18 April 1661.

Choiseul-Francières 6 May 1653, disbanded 18 April 1661.

Massages 7 May 1653, disbanded 20 July 1660.

Mancini 24 May 1653 (Dunes 1658), disbanded 12 April 1661.

Nogent 30 May 1653, split to form **Sainte-Ruth** and **Vins** on 15 March 1672.

Guise 22 October 1653, disbanded 18 April 1661.

Ris 22 October 1653, disbanded 1656.

Danisy 22 October 1653, disbanded 1656.

Saint-Aignan 22 October 1653, disbanded 1656.

Espinchal 22 October 1653, disbanded 1656.

Saint-Cierge 22 October 1653, disbanded 1658.

Gonzague 12 January 1654, disbanded 1654.

Estrigny 12 January 1654, disbanded 1654.

Roquefort 12 January 1654, disbanded 1654.

Grancey 25 February 1654, **Foucault** 9 April 1655, disbanded 1655.

Pilois 13 March 1654, disbanded 1655.

Rebé 13 March 1654, disbanded 1654.

Calvo (Catalan) 13 March 1654, disbanded 20 July 1660.

Roque (Catalan) 13 March 1654, disbanded 1654.

Alméras (Catalan) 13 March 1654, disbanded 1654.

Oche (Catalan) 13 March 1654, disbanded 1654.

La Feuillée 31 July 1654, disbanded 20 July 1660.

Sainte-Maure 31 July 1654, disbanded 1655.

Castelnuovo (Italian) 16 August 1654, disbanded late 1654.

La Berge-étranger January 1655, disbanded 1656.

Reménécourt (Lorraine) January 1655, disbanded 1656.

Mauléon (Lorraine) January 1655, disbanded 1656.

Fourilles January 1655, disbanded 18 April 1661.

Chevalier de Rohan January 1655 (Dunes 1658), disbanded 20 July 1660.

Catheux January 1655, disbanded 20 July 1660.

Rochepère January 1655 (Dunes 1658), disbanded 24 Maly 1660.

Prévôt de Paris January 1655, disbanded late 1655.

Comte de Revel January 1655, disbanded late 1655.

Léré January 1655, disbanded late 1655.

Cunas (Italian) January 1655, disbanded late 1655.

Havreux January 1655, disbanded 1658.

Vaillac January 1655, disbanded late 1655.

Haraucourt (Lorraine) November 1655, Linanges 1656, Châtelet 1658 (Dunes 1658), disbanded late 1658.

Lanon (Lorraine) November 1655, **Foug** 1656 (Dunes 1658), disbanded late 1658.

Prince Charles (Lorraine) November 1655, disbanded 1657.

Lénoncourt (Lorraine) November 1655, disbanded 1656.

Spiltz (Lorraine) November 1655, disbanded 1656.

Thorigny November 1655 (Dunes 1658), disbanded late 1658.

Gouvernet 1656, disbanded late 1656.

La Fare 7 June 1656, disbanded 18 April 1661.

Dragons étrangers du Roi 14 June 1656, becomes **Royal-dragons** or **Dragons du Roi** 30 September 1660 (Dunes 1658, Lille 1667, Holland 1672, Luxembourg 1684, Leuze 1691, Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Ramillies 1706, Oudenarde 1708, Malplaquet 1709).

Duras-étranger 1 January 1657, disbanded 20 July 1660.

Lorges-étranger 1 January 1657, disbanded 18 April 1661.

Royes-étranger 3 February 1657 (Dunes 1658), into **Royal-étranger** 16 February 1659.

Prince de Hesse-étranger 20 February 1657 (Dunes 1658), disbanded 20 July 1660.

Prince de Salm-étranger 20 February 1657 (Dunes 1658), disbanded 20 July 1660.

Maussay 28 March 1657, disbanded 18 April 1661.

Du Four 28 March 1657, disbanded late 1657.

Thierry 28 March 1657, disbanded late 1657.

Pont-Saint-Pierre 28 March 1657, disbanded late 1657.

Fortilesse 28 March 1657, disbanded late 1657.

Baradat 28 March 1657, disbanded late 1657.

Schomberg 28 March 1657, disbanded late 1657.

Salines 28 March 1657, disbanded late 1657.

Chazeron 27 June 1657 (Dunes 1658), disbanded 20 July 1660.

Penthièvre 3 February 1658, disbanded 1659.

Bellefond 5 May 1658 (Dunes 1658), disbanded late 1658.

La Ilhière 25 May 1658, disbanded 18 April 1661.

Marsillac 25 May 1658 (Dunes 1658), disbanded late 1658.

Bouillon 25 May 1658 (Dunes 1658), disbanded late 1658.

Comte Frédéric 1658, disbanded 1659.

Itone (Italian) 1658, disbanded late 1658.

La Ramora (Italian) 1658, disbanded late 1658.

Royal-étranger 16 February 1659 (Lille 1667), disbanded 1658.

Renti 22 April 1659, disbanded 20 July 1660.

Coligny 7 November 1659, disbanded 12 April 1661.

Chamilly 7 November 1659, disbanded 12 April 1661.

Briquemaut 9 February 1664 (Portugal 1664–1665), probably dissolved in Portugal.

Cuirassiers de Richelieu 1664 (Hungary 1664), probably dissolved in Austria.

Colonel Général 5 December 1665 (Lille 1667, Holland 1672, with Turenne in Alsace 1674–1675, Torino 1706, Oudenarde 1708, Malplaquet 1709, Denain 1712).

Commissaire Général 5 December 1665 (Flanders 1667), disbanded 1668.

Genlis 5 December 1665 (Lille 1667), disbanded 24 May 1668.

Baleroy de Choisy 7 December 1665, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Calvo (Catalan) 7 December 1665 (Lille 1667), disbanded 24 May 1668.

Chazeron 7 December 1665, **Ventadour** 20 May 1667 (Lille 1667), disbanded 24 May 1668.

Choiseul-Francières 7 December 1665 (Lille 1667), disbanded 24 May 1668.

Condé 7 December 1665 (Lille 1667), disbanded 24 May 1668 except for colonel's company sent to Candia 1669.

Conti 7 December 1665 (Lille 1667), disbanded 24 May 1668.

Coulanges 7 December 1665 (Lille 1667), disbanded 24 May 1668.

Gassion 7 December 1665 (Lille 1667), disbanded 24 May 1668.

Grandpré 7 December 1665 (Lille 1667), **Saint-Loup** 18 December 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Créqui 7 December 1665 (Lille 1667), disbanded 24 May 1668.

Enghien 7 December 1665 (Lille 1667), disbanded 24 May 1668.

Foix-Candale December 1665, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Foucault 7 December 1665 (Lille 1667), disbanded 24 May 1668.

Fourilles 7 December 1665 (Lille 1667), **Nonant** 15 December 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Joyeuse 7 December 1665 (Lille 1667), disbanded 24 May 1668.

Humières 7 December 1665 (Lille 1667, Holland 1672), **Seyssac** 11 February 1675 (Saint-Denis 1678, Luxembourg 1684, Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Neerwinden 1693), **Villeroi** 21 September 1695 (Ramillies 1706).

Plessis-Praslin 7 December 1665 (Lille 1667), disbanded 24 May 1668.

Marins 7 December 1665 (Lille 1667), disbanded 24 May 1668.

Melin 7 December 1665, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Montauban 7 December 1665 (Lille 1667), disbanded 26 May 1668.

Montclar 7 December 1665 (Lille 1667), 1 **Royal-Roussillon** April 1668, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Nanteuil 7 December 1665, disbanded 24 May 1668.

La Feuillée 7 December 1665 (Lille 1667), disbanded 24 May 1668.

La Rablière 7 December 1665, disbanded 24 May 1668.

La Valette 7 December 1665, disbanded 26 May 1668.

Lorges-étranger 7 December 1665, disbanded 26 May 1668.

Orléans 7 December 1665 (Lille 1667), reduced to two companies 1668, six companies 1672 (Holland 1672, Senef 1674, Luxembourg 1684, Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Neerwinden 1693, Blenheim 1704, Oudenarde 1708, Malplaquet 1709, Denain 1712).

Palmy 7 December 1665, disbanded 26 May 1668.

Podewilz-étranger 7 December 1665, disbanded 26 May 1668.

Resnel 7 December 1665 (Lille 1667), disbanded 24 May 1668.

Rouvray 7 December 1665, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Thianges 7 December 1665 (Lille), disbanded 24 May 1668.

Thury 7 December 1665, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Bulonde 1 January 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Monglat 20 May 1667 (Lille), disbanded 24 May 1668.

Penthièvre 20 May 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Saint-Cierge 20 May 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Kroneberg-étranger 16 June 1667, **Sebbeville** June 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Pilois 4 July 1667 (Lille 1667), disbanded 24 May 1668.

Bligny 8 July 1667 (Lille 1667), disbanded 24 May 1668.

Bouillon 8 July 1667 (Lille 1667), disbanded 26 May 1668.

Catheux 8 July 1667 (Lille 1667), **Harlus-Vertilly** 29 August 1675, disbanded 8 August 1679.

Choiseul-Beaupré 8 July 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Lambert 8 July 1667 (Lille 1667) disbanded 24 May 1668.

Monaco 8 July 1667 (Lille 1667), disbanded 26 May 1668.

Sourdis 8 July 1667 (Lille 1667), disbanded 26 May 1668.

Tilladet 8 July 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Arnolfini 14 September 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Rosen 20 November 1667, disbanded 26 May 1668.

Roussillon 15 December 1667, disbanded 1668.

Anguicciola late 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Armagnac late 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Arzilliers late 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Bartillat late 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Beaufort late 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Beauvisé late 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Berrier (Lorraine) late 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Béthune late 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Boudes late 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Chamilly late 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Chevalier de Coislin late 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Doucet late 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Estrades late 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Fustemberg (German) late 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Guise late 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Kerkado late 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Lachaux late 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Laurière late 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Lillebonne (Lorraine) late 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Mauléon (Lorraine) late 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Méré late 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Mirepoix late 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Monsieur late 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Pont-Saint-Pierre late 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Prouville late 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Ragny late 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Du Roure late 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Saint-Estéban late 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Saint-Paul late 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Soultzbach (German) late 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Sommyèvre late 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Troisvilles late 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Valavoire late 1667, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Buzenval 10 January 1668, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Colonel Général des Dragons 27 January 1668 (Senef 1674, Steenkirk 1692, Neerwinden 1693, Senef 1674, Malplaquet 1709).

Dauphin 24 March 1668, disbanded 24 May 1668 except for colonel'a company and reorganised 16 April 1668 with six companies (Holland 1672, Senef 1674, Saint-Denis 1678, Luxembourg 1684, Steenkirk 1692, Torino 1706, Oudenarde 1708, Malplaquet 1709).

Illes 1 April 1668, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Montgeorges 10 April 1668, disbanded 24 May 1668.

Lambert 7 August 1671 (Holland 1672), **Bissy** 28 February 1677, disbanded 8 August 1679.

Arnolfini 9 August 1671 (Holland 1672, Senef 1674, Saint-Denis), **Aubusson Duc de La Feuillade** 20 August 1689 (Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Neerwinden 1693), disbanded 18 December 1698.

Auger 9 August 1671 but actually formed 1 March 1672 (Senef 1674), **La Roche-sur-Yon** 19 February 1684, **Bourgogne** 5 June 1685 (Neerwinden 1693, Blenheim 1704, Oudenarde 1708), **Bretagne** 8 June 1711 (Denain 1712).

Beaufort 9 August 1671, disbanded or merged about 1671.

Beauvisé 9 August 1671, disbanded or merged 1673.

Baleroy de Choisy 9 August 1671 (Holland 1672), **Courcelles** 1672 (Senef), **Villars** 25 August 1674, into **Choiseul-Beaupré** 15 August 1679.

Bartillat 9 August 1671 (Holland 1672, Senef 1674, Luxembourg 1684), Marcilly 1690, **Narbonne** 5 September 1690 (Barcelona 1697), **du Tronc** 15 August 1702 (**Languedoc** 1707–1709).

Béthune 9 August 1671 (Holland 1672), **du Repaire** 1673, disbanded 8 August 1679.

Bligny 9 August 1671 (Holland 1672, Senef 1674), disbanded 8 August 1679.

Boucaut 9 August 1671, **Magnac** 1676, disbanded 8 August 1679.

Bulonde 9 August 1671, **Roucy** February 1684 (Luxembourg 1684), into **Florensac** 26 September 1684.

Buzenval 9 August 1671 (Holland 1672), **Luzerne** April 1675 (Saint-Denis 1678), disbanded 15 August 1679.

Chevalier de Coislin 9 August 1671 (Holland 1672), **du Vignau** 1 October 1672, disbanded 8 August 1679.

Choiseul-Beaupré 9 August 1671 (Holland 1672), **Chartres** 18 February 1684 (Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Neerwinden 1693, Torino 1706, Provence 1707, Denain 1712).

Comte d'Auvergne 9 August 1671 (Holland 1672), **Gassion** 14 September 1675, **Lumbres** 27 October 1677 (Saint-Denis 1678, Luxembourg 1684), **Fiennes** 18 March 1690 (Leuze 1691, Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Neerwinden 1693, disbanded 8 May 1698.

Condé 9 August 1671 (Holland 1672, Senef 1674, Roussillon 1684, Neerwinden 1693, Blenheim 1704).

Coulanges 9 August 1671, **du Bordages** 4 November 1674 (Saint-Denis 1678, Luxembourg 1684), **Maine** October 1688 (Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Ramillies 1706, Oudenarde 1708, Denain 1712).

Doucet 9 August 1671 (Holland 1672), disbanded or merged late 1676 or early 1677.

Enghien 9 August 1671 (Holland 1672, Senef 1674, Luxembourg 1684), **Bourbon** 11 December 1686 (Namur 1692, Neerwinden 1693, Flanders 1709–1712).

Estrades 9 August 1671 (Holland 1672, Senef 1674), disbanded 8 August 1679.

La Feuillée 9 August 1671 (Holland 1672), **du Vivier** April 1676, disbanded or merged 1677.

Foix-Candale 9 August 1671 (Holland 1672), **Biran** 1 July 1674, disbanded 1679.

Foucault 9 August 1671 (Holland 1672, Luxembourg 1684), **Châlons** March 1690, **Gouffier d'Heilly** 24 February 1693, **Egmont** 1699, **Desmaretz** 1704, **Gesvre** 1709.

Gassion 9 August 1671 (Holland 1672), **Ollier** 1 March 1674 (Senef 1674), disbanded 8 August 1679.

Gournay 9 August 1671 (Holland 1672, Senef 1674), **La Roquevieille** January 1678, into **Cuirassier du Roi** 8 August 1679.

Grignan 9 August 1671 (Holland 1672, Saint-Denis 1678, Luxembourg 1684), **Flesché** 13 October 1703.

Grutel 9 August 1671, **Rassent** 6 December 1677, into **Royal-Piémont** 8 August 1679.

Joyeuse 9 August 1671 (Holland 1672), **Locmaria** 1674 (Saint-Denis 1678), disbanded 8 August 1679, re-raised 15 January 1684 (Luxembourg 1684, Leuze 1691, Namur and Steenkirk 1692), into other units 1693.

Kerkado 9 August 1671 (Holland 1672, Senef 1674), into **Orléans-cavalerie** 8 August 1679.

Lachaux 9 August 1671, disbanded or merged late 1673.

Laurière 9 August 1671, disbanded or merged late 1671.

Longueville 9 August 1671 (Holland 1672), **Langallerie** 1 October 1672 (Luxembourg 1684), disbanded 26 September 1684.

Melin 9 August 1671 (Holland 1672), **Cayeux** 6 May 1675 later **Gamaches**, into **Lagallerie** 8 August 1679.

Méré 9 August 1671 (Holland 1672, Senef 1674), **Courcelles** 1674, disbanded 8 August 1679.

Montgeorges 9 August 1671, **Montgommery** 29 July 1679 (Saint-Denis 1678), disbanded 8 August 1679.

Montauban 9 August 1671 (Holland 1672), **Beringhen** January 1674, **Livry** 1676 (Luxembourg 1684), disbanded 26 September 1684.

Nonant 9 August 1671 (Holland 1672), **La Mothe-Houdancourt** 7 March 1676, disbanded 8 August 1679.

Pilois 9 August 1671 (Holland 1672), disbanded or merged 1674.

Prince de Piémont 9 August 1671, **Royal-Piémont** (Holland 1672, Senef 1674, Luxembourg 1684, Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Blenheim 1704, Oudenarde 1708, Malplaquet 1709, Denain 1712).

Prouville 9 August 1671, disbanded or merged about 1671.

La Rablière 9 August 1671 (Holland 1672), **Servon** 13 July 1680, **La Tournelle** 30 March 1693, **La Feuillade** 5 May 1701, **Aubusson Saint-Paul** 4 March 1702 (Blenheim 1704, Ramillies 1706, Oudenarde 1708).

Resnel 9 August 1671 (Holland 1672), **Léry-Girardin** 1 January 1675, disbanded 8 August 1679.

Roussillon 9 August 1671, **Illes** 30 January 1673, **Saint-Louis** 1 February 1675 (Luxembourg 1684), **Villacerf** 1685, **Berry** 1689 (Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Neerwinden 1693, Portugal 1704, Almanza 1707).

Du Roure 9 August 1671, into an unknown unit in about 1673.

Rouvray 9 August 1671 (Holland 1672), disbanded 8 August 1679.

Saint-Aignan 9 August 1671 (Luxembourg 1684), **Rohan** 1687, **Rohan-Soubise** 18 October 1690 (Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Neerwinden 1693), **Quintin** 10 February 1702 and said to be the best-looking of the grey-coated regiment, **Saint-Chamans** 10 January 1705, **Vaudray** 6 June 1706, **Saint-Aignan** 19 December 1706 (Oudenarde 1708, Malplaquet 1709, Denain 1712).

Saint-Loup 9 August 1671 (Senef 1674), disbanded 1675.

Sanzay 9 August 1671, **Châtillon** 11 August 1675, disbanded 8 August 1679.

Saussay 9 August 1671 (Holland 1672), **Brionne** 20 February 1684 (Luxembourg 1684), disbanded 26 September 1684.

Sommyèvre 9 August 1671, into an unknown unit in about 1673.

Sourdis 9 August 1671 (Holland 1672, Senef 1674), disbanded 8 August 1679.

Thianges 9 August 1671 (Holland 1672), **Florensac** 24 January 1674 (Senef 1674, Saint-Denis 1678, Luxembourg 1684), **Talmond** 30 March 1693 (Neerwinden 1693), **La Trémouille** 4 February 1705 (Ramillies 1706, Oudenarde 1708), **Tarente** 1 June 1709 (Malplaquet 1709, Denain 1712).

Thury 9 August 1671, **Saint-Valery** 1674, disbanded 9 August 1679.

Tilladet 9 August 1671 (Holland 1672, Senef 1674, Saint-Denis 1678, Luxembourg 1684), **Béringhen** 5 April 1700 (Ramillies 1706, Oudenarde 1708, Malplaquet 1709, Denain 1712).

Troisvilles 9 August 1671, disbanded or merged 1673.

Valavoire 9 August 1671, **Vivans** 15 March 1672 (Holland 1672, Senef 1674, Luxembourg 1684, Namur and Steenkirk 1692), **Heudicourt** 6 January 1703 (Blenheim 1704, Malplaquet 1709).

La Valette 9 August 1671 (Holland 1672, Senef 1674, Luxembourg 1684), **Prince Camille** 25 November 1689, **Prince Charles** 10 February 1702 (Blenheim 1704), **Lambesc** 28 March 1708.

Ventadour 9 August 1671 (Holland 1672), **Servon** 27 April 1673 (Senef 1674, Saint-Denis 1678), disbanded 8 August 1679.

Konigsmarck (German) 10 August 1671 (Holland 1672, Senef 1674) **Royal-Allemand** 15 November 1688 (Neerwinden 1693).

Rosen 23 August 1671 (Holland 1672, Senef 1674, Saint-Denis 1678), **Rottemberg** 9 November 1682 (Leuze 1691, Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Neerwinden 1693), **Rosen** 17 February 1696 (Ramillies 1706, Oudenarde 1708), **Rottemberg** 2 April 1709 (Malplaquet 1709).

Schomberg 25 August 1671 (Holland 1672, Senef 1674, Luxembourg 1684), disbanded 26 September 1684.

Harcourt 1 October 1671, disbanded or merged 1676.

Verdelin 1672, appears to have existed only that year.

Saint-Clar 1672, appears to have existed only that year.

Chevrier 4 February 1672 (Holland 1672), disbanded or merged 1672.

Commissaire Général 4 February 1672 (Holland 1672, Senef 1674, Luxembourg 1684, Neerwinden 1693, Torino 1706, Oudenarde 1708, Malplaquet 1709, Denain 1712).

Royal-étranger 4 February 1672 (Holland 1672, Luxembourg 1684, Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Ramillies 1706, Oudenarde 1708, Malplaquet 1709, Denain 1712).

Royal-Roussillon 4 February 1672 (Holland 1672, Luxembourg 1684, Leuze 1691, Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Neerwinden 1693, Torino 1706, Oudenarde 1708, Malplaquet 1709, Denain 1712).

Illes 3 March 1672 (Holland 1672), **Lançon** 10 December 1673 (Senef 1674), **Bezons** 1 February 1675 (Saint-Denis 1678), disbanded 26 September 1684.

L'Houmeau 3 March 1672 (Senef 1674, Luxembourg 1684), **Villequier** (Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Neerwinden 1693 where it took the colonel's colour of the Scots Guards), **Montmain** 15 February 1702 (Blenheim 1704), **Belaccueil** 25 June 1706, **Latour** 28 February 1711 (Denain 1712).

Liégeois 3 March 1672, **Puységur** 1675, disbanded 26 September 1684.

Seyssac 3 March 1672 (Holland 1672), **Imécourt** 26 February 1676 (Saint-Denis 1678), disbanded 8 August 1679.

Streef 13 March 1672 (Holland 1672), **Romainville** 23 February 1677, disbanded 8 August 1679.

Lochman 13 March 1672, **Schomberg-cadet** 10 December 1673, into **Cheveau** 1678.

Honsted 13 March 1672, disbanded or merged 1672.

Sainte-Ruth 15 March 1672 (Holland 1672), **Saint-Germain-Beaupré** 24 March 1674 (Senef, Saint-Denis 1678), into **Saint-Aignan** 8 August 1679.

Vins 15 March 1672 (Holland 1672), **Cornas** 1672, **Ruvigny** 24 October 1675, disbanded 1679.

Bellegarde 26 June 1672, disbanded 26 September 1684.

Feuquières 17 July 1672, disbanded 4 February 1673.

Crillon 1 October 1672, disbanded 8 August 1679.

Saint-Aoust 1 October 1672, disbanded or merged 1672 or 1673.

Johns (English) 9 November 1672, **Monmouth** 27 January 1673 (Maastricht 1673, with Marshal Turenne 1674), disbanded 10 March 1678.

Rivarole (Italian) 9 November 1672, into **Royal-Piémont** 20 March 1678.

Hocquincourt-dragons 14 September 1673, **La Reine-dragons** 31 July 1675 Luxembourg 1684, Steenkirk 1692, Blenheim 1704).

Sauveboeuf-dragons 14 September 1673, **Dauphin-dragons** 1675 (Saint-Denis 1678, Luxembourg 1684, Leuze 1691, Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Namur 1695, Torino 1706).

Listenois-dragons 14 September 1673 (Saint-Denis 1678, Luxembourg 1684, Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Namur 1695), **Payssac** 3 January 1696, **Listenois** 20 May 1699 (Blenheim 1704, Malplaquet 1709), **Beauffremont** 1 November 1710.

Fimarcon-dragons 14 September 1673 (Saint-Denis 1678), **Barbezières** 20 August 1678 (Luxembourg 1684), **Estrades** 10 August 1692 (Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Neerwinden 1693, takes a standard at Luzzara 1702), **Bellisle** 11 January 1705 (takes a colour at Calcinato 1706), **Bonnelles** 5 July 1709.

Alsace 10 December 1673, disbanded 23 January 1677, re-raised 14 November 1677, disbanded 8 August 1679.

Aumont 10 December 1673, disbanded 8 August 1679.

Bret 10 December 1673, disbanded 8 August 1679.

Bridieu 10 December 1673, disbanded 6 March 1677.

Givry 10 December 1673, **Courtebonne** 6 January 1677, disbanded 8 August 1679.

Hocquincourt 10 December 1673, **Pracomtal** 11 March 1677, disbanded 8 August 1679.

Ilhière 10 December 1673 (Senef 1674), disbanded late 1677.

Lançon 10 December 1673 (Senef 1674), **Saint-Simon-Montbléru** March 1676, disbanded 8 August 1679.

Montal 10 December 1673 (Senef 1674), into two regiments 24 April 1678.

Nancré 10 December 1673, disbanded 27 October 1676.

Perthuis 10 December 1673, disbanded 27 October 1676.

Vaubrun 10 December 1673, **Montbas** 1675 (Marsaglia 1693), **Vienne** 1693, **Germinon** 14 September 1705 (Torino 1706, Almanza 1707, Cette 1710, Barcelona 1714).

Broglie 1 March 1674 (Senef 1674), **Lévis** March 1676 (Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Neerwinden 1693), **La Vaupalière** 28 March 1704, **Bessay** 1707 (Denain 1712), **Novion** 1713.

Chevalier-Duc 1 March 1674 (Figuières 1675, Saint-Denis 1678), **Roquépine** 23 October 1689 (Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Neerwinden 1693), **Sully** 1701, **Vaudray** 19 December 1706 (Malplaquet 1709, Denain 1712).

Gassion 1 March 1674, disbanded 8 August 1679.

Albret 1 March 1674, disbanded 1678.

Heudecourt 1 March 1674, disbanded 1678.

Saint-Sylvestre 1 March 1674, disbanded 8 August 1679.

Villeneuve 1 March 1674, **Léry-Girardin** 19 July 1688 (Namur 1692), **Bar** 3 January 1696, disbanded 1698.

Walin 1 March 1674, **Mélac** 1 February 1675, disbanded 8 August 1679.

Dauphin-étranger 12 March 1674 (Luxembourg 1684), **Phélippeaux** 13 November 1691 (Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Neerwinden 1693), **La Boulaye** 1697 (Blenheim 1704, Oudenarde 1708, Malplaquet 1709).

Mesnil-Montauban 25 March 1674, **Pelleport** 23 August 1674 (Senef 1674), disbanded 8 August 1679.

Tessé-dragon 25 March 1674 (Luxembourg 1684), **Mestre de Camp Général des dragons** 10 March 1685 (Leuze 1691, Blenheim 1704).

Renti 15 April 1674, disbanded 1677.

La Margelle 14 August 1674, **Pontségut** 4 March 1675 (Saint-Denis 1678), disbanded 8 August 1679.

Chevreau 16 August 1674, **Schomberg** 1678, into **Lhoumeau** 8 August 1678.

Allemans 23 August 1674, no further data.

La Rare 23 August 1674, no further data.

La Rogerville 23 August 1674, no further data.

Chamilly 9 November 1674, disbanded 27 October 1676.

Lauzières 9 November 1674, no further data.

Montal 24 April 1678 (Saint-Denis 1678), into **Bordage** 8 August 1679.

Rancher-dragon 8 December 1674, disbanded November 1676.

Saint-Sandoux-dragons 8 December 1674, **Peyssonnel** 8 January 1679, **Gaubert** 13 March 1690, **Albert** 17 July 1701, **Héron** 9 March 1702, **Bourneuf** June 1705, **Vassé** 13 June 1706 (Torino 1706, Oudenarde 1708), **Espinay** 31 May 1710.

Montberon 9 December 1674, **Noailles** 25 February 1677 (Saint-Denis

1678), disbanded 8 August 1679.

Montauger 16 December 1674, disbanded 8 August 1679.

De Fay-dragons 1 January 1675, **La Lande** 16 March 1678 (Luxembourg 1684, Italy 1690–1693), **Vérac** 8 April 1696 (Torino 1706, Toulon 1707, Malplaquet 1709), **Caylus** 29 March 1710.

Gesvres 3 February 1675, disbanded 8 August 1679.

La Bretesche-dragons 5 February 1675, **Chevilly** 19 February 1682 (Luxembourg 1684), **Caylus** 6 September 1688 ((Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Namur 1695), **Lautrec** 8 April 1696 (Torino 1706).

Saumery 15 February 1675, no further data.

Bouillon 2 April 1675, disbanded 8 August 1679.

Rorsi 3 September 1675, no further data.

Nancré-dragons 10 December 1675, **Bursard** 11 November 1676, **Tessé** 4 August 1681 (Luxembourg 1684), **Sennectère** 2 April 1692 (Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Marsaglia 1693), **Belabre** 11 January 1705 (Torino 1706, Provence 1707).

Béthune 8 January 1676, disbanded 8 August 1679.

Guines 14 January 1676, no further data.

Quincy 26 January 1676 (Saint-Denis 1678), **Phélippeaux** 8 December 1683 (Luxembourg 1684), into **Léry-Girardin** 26 September 1684.

Sanguin 5 March 1676, no further data.

Marivault 7 March 1676, into **du Roi** 8 August 1679.

Commingues 9 April 1676, no further data.

Aidigeau-dragons 4 October 1676, **Asfeld** 26 April 1678 (Luxembourg 1684, Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Neerwinden 1693, Namur 1695), **Hautefort** 8 April 1696 (Torino 1706, Toulon 1707), **Saumery** 20 March 1709.

Barbezières-dragons 4 October 1676 (Saint-Denis 1678) , **Fimarcon** 10 August 1678, **Cayla** 1 April 1705, **Tilladet** 22 Septembre 1706, **Châtillon** 23 December 1713.

Ganges or **Languedoc-dragons** 4 October 1676, into **Royal-dragons** 8 August 1679.

Rozel 15 January 1677, into **Bulonde** 8 August 1679.

Massot 17 January 1677, **Fontaines** 1697, disbanded 27 March 1698.

Hennequin 26 January 1677, no further data.

Fontet 24 February 1677, disbanded 8 August 1679.

Houdetot 9 May 1677, no further data.

Villepoint 17 May 1677 (Saint-Denis 1678), disbanded 8 August 1679.

Desmonts 6 September 1677, no further data.

Cibour 22 September 1677, disbanded 1679.

Bonham (Hungarian) 22 November 1677, disbanded 1679.

Praslin 1682 (Luxembourg 1684, Neerwinden 1693), **Toulouse** 28 August 1693 (Ramillies 1706, Malplaquet 1709, Denain 1712).

Mélac 1 January 1682 (Luxembourg 1684), **Larrard** March 1690, **Rassay** 1701, **Saint-Germain-Beaupré** 1704 or 1705.

Saint-Sylvestre 1 January 1682 (Luxembourg 1684), **Bercourt** 1690 (Leuze 1691, Namur and Steenkirk 1692), **Uzès** 17 February 1698 (Oudenarde 1708), **Marsillac** 20 March 1709).

Des Fourneaux 1 October 1682, disbanded or merged 1693.

Tallard 1 October 1682 (Luxembourg 1684), disbanded 26 September 1685.

Crillon 20 October 1683 (Girona 1684), **Forsat** September 1689, disbanded 13 February 1698.

La Roquevieille 20 October 1683, disbanded 26 September 1684.

Languedoc-dragons 5 January 1684 and disbanded soon thereafter.

Gamaches 15 January 1684, disbanded 26 September 1684.

Pontségut 15 January 1684, disbanded 26 September 1684.

Roquelaure 15 January 1684, **Esclainvilliers** 10 May 1691 (Leuze 1691, Steenkirk 1692, Neerwinden 1693).

Saint-Germain-Beaupré 15 January 1684, **Gournay** 14 March 1692 (Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Neerwinden 1693), **Cossé** 10 February 1694, **Magnières**

30 May 1704 (Blenheim 1704), **Monteils** 1710.

Thury 15 January 1684, **Saint-Livière** 1691, **Beintz** 1693, **Ruffey** 8 January 1696 (Barcelona 1697), **Marcillac** 27 February 1705 (Torino 1706).

Villars 15 January 1684 (Luxembourg 1684), **Anjou** 20 March 1688 (Torino 1706, Almanza 1707, Barcelona 1714).

Livry 1688, **Clermont-Saint-Aignan** 22 February 1689 (Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Neerwinden 1693), **Bartillat** April 1702, **Lénoncourt** 1706 (Denain 1712).

Harlus-Vertilly 20 April 1688 (Namur 1692), **Châteaumorand** 8 January 1696, disbanded 13 February and 27 March 1698.

Aumont 20 August 1688, **La Vallière** 12 January 1692 (Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Neerwinden 1693), **Fontaine** 17 September 1704 (Ramillies 1706, Oudenarde 1708), into **Royal-Piémont** 15 August 1714.

Avaray-dragons 20 August 1688, disbanded 23 December 1698.

Bellegarde 20 August 1688 (Namur and Steenkirk 1692), **Gand** 17 January 1703 (Torino 1706, Malplaquet 1709, Denain 1712), into **Royal** 14 August 1714.

Béthune 20 August 1688, **Aubeterre** 15 January 1689 (Steenkirk 1692), into other units March 1693.

Bezons 20 August 1688 (Leuze 1691, Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Neerwinden 1693, Blenheim 1704, Malplaquet 1709).

Bissy 20 August 1688 (Leuze 1691, Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Neerwinden 1693), into **Bretagne-cavalerie** 15 August 1714.

Brionne 20 August 1688, **Montplaisir** 1 February 1692, **Broglio** 10 February 1694, **Vérac** 26 October 1704, **Montmorency** 1706, **Marcillac-Vény** 28 November 1708, later **Noailles**, into **Mestre de Camp Général** 1714.

Boufflers 20 August 1688 (Namur and Steenkirk 1692), **Ourches** 26 December 1693, **Chérisey** 11 March 1705 (Torino 1706, Oudenarde 1708, Malplaquet 1709, Denain 1712), into **Royal-étranger** 15 August 1714.

Castries 20 August 1688 (Leuze 1691, Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Neerwinden 1693).

Cathulan 20 August 1688 (Marsaglia 1693), reduced to two companies in 1698, re-established 10 February 1701, **Savones** 27 July 1701, **La Baume** 15 March 1702 (Blenheim 1704), **La Boulaye** 15 November 1704, **Alzeau**

1707 (Oudenarde 1708, Malplaquet 1709), into other units 1713.

Châtillon 20 August 1688, disbanded or merged 1692.

Catinat-dragons 20 August 1688, disbanded 13 December 1698.

Cibour 20 August 1688, **Espinchal** 1702, **Elboeuf** 1703, **La Bretauche** 1706, **Caubous** 1 October 1709 (Denain 1712), into **Commissaire général** 15 August 1714.

Courtebonne 20 August 1688 (Leuze 1691, Namur and Steenkirk 1692), **Barentin** 3 January 1696, **Villepreux** 1711.

Courcelles 20 August 1688, **Vienne** 1 November 1693, **Pelleport** 10 February 1694, disbanded 13 February 1698.

Dumont 20 August 1688, **Nassau-Saarbruck** 3 September 1690 (Namur and Steenkirk 1692), **Villiers** Le Morhyer 30 March 1693 (Neerwinden 1693), **Vignoles** 26 October 1704, later **Autichamp**, **Fief** 1708, into **Bourbon** 1713.

Estrades 20 August 1688, **Du Plessis** 10 August 1691, disbanded 8 May 1698.

Fontet 20 August 1688, **Vandeuil** 27 March 1694 (Barcelona 1697), **Cappy** 30 August 1702 (Torino 1706, Alps 1707, Malplaquet 1709, Denain 1712), into **du Roi** 15 August 1714.

Le Gall 20 August 1688 (Barcelona 1697), **Choiseul** 1702, into **Royal-Roussillon** 1714.

Gamaches 20 August 1688, **La Ferronays** January 1696 (Blenheim 1704, Barcelona 1714).

Gesvres 20 August 1688, disbanded 7 March 1691.

Grammont-Fallon-dragons 20 August 1688 (Marsaglia 1693), **Chantran** 12 March 1696, **Frontenay** 1697, disbanded 1698.

Imécourt 20 August 1688 (Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Neerwinden 1693), **Montauban** January 1702 (Torino 1706, Provence and Toulon 1707), **Chépy** 19 July 1708 (Denain 1712).

Du **Héron-dragons** 20 August 1688, disbanded 1698.

Humières 20 August 1688, **Mauroy** 18 March 1690, **Soucarriète** 10 February 1704, **Villiers** 1710, into **Condé** 1713.

Magnac 20 August 1688 (Leuze 1691, Namur and Steenkirk 1692), disbanded or merged 1676.

Mainville 20 August 1688 ("distinguished extremely in combat at" Leuze 1691), **Uzès** 15 March 1697, disbanded 13 February 1698.

Manderscheidt 20 August 1688 (Neerwinden 1693), disbanded 23 December 1698.

Marivault 20 August 1688, disbanded 1698.

Molac 20 August 1688, disbanded 1698.

Montberon 20 August 1688, **Chastelet-Clefmont** 6 April 1689 (Namur and Steenkirk 1692), disbanded 23 December 1698.

Montgommery 20 August 1688, **Imécourt** 3 January 1696, disbanded 13 February 1698.

Montpeyroux 20 August 1688, **Grammont** 25 March 1703, **Maisonthiers** 1706, **Campférand** 1708, into **Orléans** 15 August 1714.

Langallerie 20 August 1688 (Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Neerwinden 1693), **Simiane** 29 January 1702 (Torino 1706, Almanza 1707, Tortosa 1708, Denain 1712), into **Chartres** 15 August 1714.

Languedoc-dragons 20 August 1688, **Caylus** 20 December 1694 (Torino 1706, **Provence** 1707, Cette 1710).

Pelleport 20 August 1688, **Vienne** 1690, **Courcelles** 30 July 1691, disbanded late 1693.

Pontségut 20 August 1688, **Tournefort** 8 January 1696, **Livry** 10 July 1699 (Blenheim 1704, Oudenarde 1708, Malplaquet 1709).

Pracomtal 20 August 1688 (Namur and Steenkirk 1692), **Aubeterre** 30 March 1693 (Neerwinden 1693), **Champlain** 25 October 1694, disbanded 30 January 1698.

Quadt 20 August 1688, (Leuze 1691, Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Neerwinden 1693), disbanded 23 December 1698.

Rassent 20 August 1688 (Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Neerwinden 1693), disbanded 23 December 1698.

Richelieu 20 August 1688, **Auriac** 3 January 1696, disbanded 1698.

Romainville 20 August 1688, **Wiltz** 3 January 1696, **Marteville** 29 June 1704 (Torino 1706, Oudenarde 1708, Malplaquet 1709).

Rozel 20 August 1688 (Leuze 1691, Namur and Steenkirk 1692), **Anlézy**

3 January 1696, disbanded 3 February 1698.

Sailly 20 August 1688 (Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Neerwinden 1693), disbanded 18 November 1698.

Saint-Frémont-dragons 20 August 1688, **Cilly** 21 October 1690, disbanded 23 December 1698.

Saint-Mauris 20 August 1688 (Marsaglia 1693), **Lessart** 8 January 1696, disbanded 18 November 1698.

Saint-Simon-Montbléru 20 August 1688 (Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Neerwinden 1693), **Bordages** 1693, **Bouzols** 24 September 1702 (Torino 1706).

Vandoeuvre 20 August 1688, **Puyguyon** (Leuze 1691, Namur and Steenkirk 1692), **Saint-Lieu** 15 November 1693, **Marnay-Saint-André** 1 June 1696 reduced to two companies in 1698, re-established 10 February 1701, **Tracy** 10 April 1701, **Rouvray** 16 January 1702 (Blenheim 1704), **Tourotte** 18 January 1706 (Oudenarde 1708), into **Beringhen** 10 November 1713.

Villepoint 20 August 1688 (Marsaglia 1693), **Chastillon** 8 February 1696, disbanded 13 February 1698.

Duras 10 December 1688 (Oudenarde 1708, Malplaquet 1709), Villequier 1710.

Duc de Noailles 20 December 1688 (Namur and Steenkirk 1692), **Ayen** 5 December 1694 (Blenheim 1704, Barcelona 1706), **Noailles** 7 December 1709 (Cette 1710, Barcelona 1714).

Saint-Jean 1689, no further data.

Longueval 1 January 1689, **Geoffreville** 29 November 1689 (Marsaglia 1693), disbanded 18 November 1698.

La Mark 1 January 1689 (Leuze 1691, Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Neerwinden 1693), **Courcillon** January 1704 (Ramillies 1706, Oudenarde 1708, Malplaquet 1709).

Prince-Paul 1 January 1689 (Neerwinden 1693), **Rozel** 1693, **Saint-Simon** 1 November 1693, disbanded 27 March 1698.

Bachevilliers 27 September 1689, **Esseville** 26 June 1692, **Cérisy** 13 November 1693, into **Vandeul** 1698.

Asfeld-étranger-dragons 25 October 1689 (Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Neerwinden 1693, Namur 1695), disbanded 23 December 1698.

Avernes-dragons 25 October 1689, **Barreau** 1691, **Aydes** 1695, disbanded 1698.

Bray 25 October 1689, disbanded 22 August 1691.

Bretagne-dragons 25 October 1689, disbanded 1698.

Breteuil-dragons 25 October 1689, disbanded 1698.

Bretoncelles-dragons 25 October 1689, **Watteville** 29 September 1696, disbanded 6 May 1698.

Breuil-dragons 25 October 1689, **Roux** 1697, disbanded 1698.

Boufflers-dragon 25 October 1689, disbanded 1698.

Coislin 25 October 1689, **Sully** 1691, disbanded 1698.

Ganges cadet-dragons 25 October 1689, disbanded 1698.

Gévaudan-dragons 25 October 1689 (Marsaglia 1693), disbanded 5 May 1698.

Gohas-dragons 25 October 1689, disbanded 30 January 1698.

Laigny 25 October 1689, disbanded 1698.

Ligondèz 25 October 1689, disbanded 1698.

Marquis de Gramont-dragons 25 October 1689, **Escorailles** 12 March 1696, disbanded 18 November 1698.

Pomponnes-dragons 25 October 1689, **Fontbeausard** 25 February 1692 (Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Marsaglia 1693, Barcelona 1697), disbanded 8 May 1698.

Presle 25 October 1689, **Egmont** 1697, disbanded 1698.

La Salle-dragons 25 October 1689, **Verchère** 1691, **Poitiers** 1695, disbanded 1698.

Vaillac 25 October 1689 (Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Neerwinden and Marsaglia 1693), disbanded 18 December 1698.

Wartigny-dragon 25 October 1689, disbanded 30 January 1698.

Anvoile-dragons 31 October 1690, **Bragelonne** 1696, disbanded 1698.

Artois-dragons 31 October 1690, disbanded 1698.

Languedoc 2nd-dragons 31 October 1690, disbanded 30 January 1698.

Montalet-dragons 31 October 1690, disbanded 1698.

Morsan-dragons 31 October 1690, disbanded 1698.

Rannes-dragons 31 October 1690, disbanded 30 January 1698.

Sainte-Hermine-dragons 31 October 1690 (Namur 1695), disbanded 30 January 1698.

Sily-dragons 31 October 1690, **Paysac** 6 April 1693, **Gouffier** 3 January 1696, disbanded 1698.

Valençay-dragons 31 October 1690, disbanded 1698.

Verrue-dragons 31 October 1690, disbanded 30 January 1698.

La Beyssière 1691, **Prince-d'Auvergne** 1697 who deserted in 1703 and hung in effigy, **Bourque** 1703, **Massembach** 1706, **Valgrand** 1710, into **La Reine** 1714.

Glizy 1691, **Alais** late 1693, **Conflans** 26 June 1694 (destroyed at Blenheim 1704), remnants into **Anzély** 1704.

Montrevel 1691, disbanded 1698.

Philippeaux 1691, **Courlandon** 13 November 1691 (Namur and Steenkirk 1692, Neerwinden 1693, Barcelona 1697), **Moyria** April 1704, **Maubecque** 1705, **Châteaumorand** 1706 (Toulon 1707), **Roye** 1710, into **Dauphin** 1713.

Souastre 1691, disbanded 1698.

Souternon 7 March 1691, **Pujols** 1692, **Savines** 1696, disbanded 1698.

Roi d'Angleterre (King of England) (English) September 1691(Neerwinden 1693), into French army as **Sheldon** (Irish) 15 February 1698, **Nugent** 20 January 1706 (Ramillies 1706, Oudenarde 1708, Malplaquet 1709, Denain 1712).

Bezons 1692 or before, **La Tournelle** March 1693, **Bellieure** April 1693, probably disbanded thereafter.

Précontal 1692 or before, **Robin** April 1693, probably disbanded thereafter.

Horn 6 May 1692, disbanded 13 February 1698.

Kronenberg-hussards (or **Croneberg**) 19 October 1692, **Mortany** 16 November 1693, into **Royal-Allemand** 18 December 1697. Sometimes called ***Hussards royaux*** (Royal Hussars). These hussar companies are made independent in 1701 and formed into **Verseilles-hussars** 6 November 1705.

Lisle du Vigier 16 March 1693, disbanded 1698.

Carabinier du Roi (also **Régiment Royal des Carabiniers** and **Royal-Carabiniers**) 1 November 1693 (Ter 1695 where it scatters Spanish infantry and cavalry, Barcelona 1697, Torino 1706, Oudenarde 1708, Malplaquet 1709, Denain 1712).

Cossé 1696, **Brissac** 1700, into **Villeroi** 1715.

Desclos 1696, **Rivoire du Palais** 24 October 1706 (Malplaquet 1709), into **Duc du Maine** and **Comte de Toulouse** 15 August 1715.

Rare 1701, **Rassé** September 1701, probably disbanded shortly thereafter.

Asfeld-étranger-dragons 5 February 1701, **Bouville** 29 January 1703 (Portugal 1704, Barcelona 1706, Almanza 1707, Cette 1709, Barcelona 1714), into **Royal-dragons** and **Languedoc-dragons** 15 August 1714.

Fontbeausard-dragons 5 February 1701 (Blenheim 1704), **Saint-Chaumond** 26 October 1704 Oudenarde 1708, Malplaquet 1709, Denain 1712), into **Lautrec-dragons** 15 August 1714.

Sainte-Hermine-dragons 5 February 1701, **Rohan-Chabot** 23 December 1702 (Blenheim 1704, Ramillies 1706, Oudenarde 1708), into **La Reine-dragons** 15 August 1714.

La Salle-dragons 5 February 1701, **Despeaux** 1704, **Conflans** 29 June 1708, **Coëtman** (Denain 1712), into **Colonel Général** and **Mestre de Camp Général** 15 August 1714.

Anlézy 10 February 1701 (Blenheim 1704, Oudenarde 1708), **Villequier** 20 March **1709, Gouffier 1713, into Esclainvilliers 1714.**

Auriac 10 February 1701, **Coulanges** 26 February 1704, **Saint-Phal** 22 September 1706 (Oudenarde 1708, Malplaquet 1709), disbanded 1713.

Bar 10 February 1701 (Ramillies 1706), **La Mothe** 1706, **Joyeuse** 1710, into **Chépy** 1714.

Chastelet-Clefmont 10 February 1701, **La Billarderie** 17 January 1703 (Blenheim 1704, Oudenarde 1708), **Malan** 24 July 1709, into **Saint-Aignan** 10 November 1713.

Fiennes 10 February 1701 (Spain 1703), **Duret de Villiers** 6 January 1705, **Croï** 1710, **Imécourt-La Loge** 17 October 1711, into **La Trémouille** 10 November 1713.

Forsat 10 February 1701, disbanded 15 August 1714.

Geoffreville 10 February 1701, **Tarente** 14 January 1703, **Bellefond** 4 February 1705, **Montauban** 1713, into **Villepreux** 1713.

Gévaudan-dragons 10 February 1701, **Vassé** 23 December 1702, **Pourrières** 1705, **Rivarole** 6 March 1714, into **Caylus-dragons** 1714.

Horn 10 February 1701, Meuse 23 December 1702, **Vignau** and later **Vaudremont**, into **Vaudray** 1713.

Laigny 10 February 1701, **Resnel** later in 1701, **Anlézy** 24 June 1702 (Blenheim 1704), **Rodemark** and **Lessart** 1709, **Harcourt** 1710 and later **Biron**, into **Cuirassiers du Roi** 1713.

Ligondèz 10 February 1701 (Blenheim 1704, Ramillies 1706, Oudenarde 1708, Malplaquet 1709, Denain 1712), into **Noailles** 6 October 1713.

Lisle du Vigier 10 February 1701, **Clermont-Tonnerre** 30 April 1709 Malplaquet 1709, Denain 1712), into **Aubusson** 10 April 1713.

Marivault 10 February 1701, **Vivans Saint-Christaud** 29 January 1702, **Beaujeu** 1706 (Malplaquet 1709, Denain 1712), into **Lénoncourt** 20 November 1713.

Montrevel 10 February 1701 (Blenheim 1704), into **Marcillac** 10 November 1713.

Pelleport 10 February 1701 (Spain 1703), **Puttanges** 4 June 1709, into **Monteils** 10 November 1713.

Du Plessis 10 February 1701, **Mérainville** 29 January 1702 (Blenheim 1704), **Autanne** 17 September 1706 (Malplaquet 1709), into **Gesvres** 10 November 1713.

Rassent 10 February 1701, **Fourquevaux** 29 January 1702 (takes seven standards at Friedlingen 1702, Blenheim 1704), **Pardaillant** 28 February 1711, into **Bouzols** 1714.

Saint-Mauris 10 February 1701, **Parabère** 1703, into **Beringhen** 1713.

Vaillac 10 February 1701, **Saumery** 23 December 1702, **Paon** 23 September 1706, into **du Tronc** 1713.

Tournemine-dragons 11 March 1702, **Marboeuf** 20 March 1705 (Ramillies 1706), into **Dauphin-dragons** 15 August 1714.

Saint-Sernin-dragons 23 April 1702, into La **Reine-dragons** and **Belaubre-dragons** 15 August 1714.

Bozelli-dragons 15 May 1702 (Torino 1706, Lerida 1707, Barcelona 1713), into **Saumery-dragons** 15 August 1714.

Villegagnon-dragons 15 May 1702 (Blenheim 1704), **Prie** 1705, **Vitry** 1706, into **Bonnelles-dragons** 1713.

Aubigné-dragons 3 September 1702 (Ramillies 1706), **Lesparre** 30 May 1706 (Malplaquet 1709, Denain 1712), disbanded 16 November 1713.

Tarnault 3 September 1702 (Oudenarde 1708, Malplaquet 1709, Denain 1712), into **Berry** 10 November 1713.

Pézeux-dragons 3 October 1702 (Torino 1706, Malplaquet 1709, Denain 1712), **Balleroy** 15 May 1714, into **Beauffremont-dragons.**

La Bâtie-dragons 10 December 1702, **Verceil** 1703, **La Lande** 15 June 1705, into **La Reine-dragons** and **Dauphin-dragons** 1713.

Gaucher-Chastillon-dragons 10 December 1702, **Chastillon** 1703 (Torino 1706, Languedoc 1707, Denain 1712), **Sevron** 23 December 1713, into **Goësbriant-dragons** 3 October 1714.

Montmain-dragons 10 December 1702 (Portugal 1704), **Courtebonne** 3 March 1706, **Chazelle** October 1709 (Spain 1711), **Auzeville** 3 December 1712, into **Beauffremont-dragons** and **Summery-dragons** 15 August 1714.

Saint-Hermine-dragons, 1702, **Saint-Chaumont** 1705 (may also have been raised in October 1690), served in Flanders 1702–1712), probably disbanded 1713.

Languedoc 2nd-dragons 5 January 1703, into **Languedoc-dragons** 10 November 1713.

Monfort 1704, into **Noailles** May 1711.

Guyenne-dragons 27 May 1705 (Camisards 1705), **Granges** 1 September 1707 (Ramillies 1706, Oudenarde 1708, Malplaquet 1709), into **Bonnelles-dragons** and **Espinay-dragons** 16 November 1713.

Verseilles-hussars 6 November 1705, many skirmishes, said to have defeated four Imperial cavalry regiments in May 1707, some of its men mutiny and the regiment is dissolved into **Rattsky** 17 May 1716.

La Mothe-Houdancourt 19 November 1705 (Ramillies 1706, Oudenarde 1708, Malplaquet 1709), disbanded 10 December 1713.

Cayeux 20 November 1705 (Ramillies 1706, Oudenarde 1708, Malplaquet 1709), into **La Tour** 15 August 1714.

Du Luc 22 November 1705 (Torino 1706), into **Flesché** 10 November 1713.

Harcourt 23 November 1705 (Ramillies 1706, Oudenarde 1708), **Saint-Blimont** 1710, into **Villequier** 1713.

Du Chastelet-Clefmont 24 November 1705 (Oudenarde 1708), into **Germinon** 10 November 1713.

Escorailles-dragons 26 November 1705, **Saumery** 23 March 1707, **Saint-Priest** 9 July 1709, **Bellisle** 1712, into **Mestre de Camp Général-dragons** 10 November 1713.

Espinay-dragons 26 November 1705 (Ramillies 1706, Oudenarde 1708, Malplaquet 1709), **Houdetot** 31 May 1710, into **Royal-dragons** 1713.

Gacé 27 November 1705, **Matignon** 1707, into **Dauphin-étrangers** 1714.

Marsillac 27 November 1705, **Aubeterre** 20 March 1709, into **La Rocheguyon** 1714.

Montgon 27 November 1705, later **La Coste du Plantier** and **Beaucaire**, into **Lambesc** 1714.

Roye 27 November 1705, later **Grammont**, into **La Ferronays** 1714.

Rannes-dragons 29 November 1705, **Le Cogneux** 18 April 1711, into **Bélabre** 1713.

Du Bourdet 6 December 1705, later **Saint-Phal**, into **Roye** 1713.

Verseilles-hussards. Formed from independent companies on the Rhine 6 November 1705, into **Rattky** 9 May 1716,

Saint-Geniès-hussards. Brought to France by the Elector of Bavaria in 1704, into French army 15 November 1705, **Rattky** (or **Rattsky**) 14 December 1707 (Oudenarde 1708, Malplaquet 1709, Denain 1712).

Podléak-hussards. Formed from independent companies in Italy 25 September 1705, **Filtz** November 1705 (to Spain *c.* 1706), **Monteils** (or **Montils**) August 1707, into Spanish army 15 July 1709.

Canisy possibly 1705, **Coëtenfao** March 1706, **Roure** May 1706, could be the infantry regiment, probably disbanded thereafter.

Sillery existing in December 1705 (Spain), could be the infantry regiment, probably disbanded thereafter.

Prince de Vaudémont 15 March 1707.

Parpaille-dragons 12 June 1708, into **Goësbriant-dragons** and **Lautrec-dragons** 1713.

Flandres November 1709, from Spanish to French army. Sent back after peace.

Brabant November 1709, from Spanish to French army. Sent back after peace.

De Puyg November 1709, from Spanish to French army. Sent back after peace.

Appendix II

Lists and Notes on Line Cavalry and Dragoon Uniforms 1692, 1698 and 1702

A)

État Général des Troupes de France Infanterie, Cavalerie et Dragons 1692[1]
[...]
Cavalerie Légère Françoise [French line cavalry]

Chaque régiment a une compagnie de Carabins [each regiment has a company of carabiniers]

Regiment	Coat	Cuffs
Colonel Général	grey	red
Mestre de Camp Général	grey	red
Comissaire Général	grey	red
Royal	blue	red
Du Roy	blue	red
Royal Étranger	blue	red
Cuirassiers [du Roi]	blue	red
Royal des Cravattes	blue	red
Royal Piémont	blue	red
Royal Roussillon	blue	blue
La Reine	grey	red
Dauphin	blue	red
Dauphin Étranger	blue	red
Duc de Bourgogne	blue	red
Orléans	grey	red

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[1] BMG, Manuscrit A1b 1626 nicknamed "Tiroirs de Louis XIV".

Chartres	grey	red
Condé	grey	red
Enguien	grey	red
Tilladet	grey	red
Arnolfini	grey	red
Bartillat	grey	red
La Vallette	grey	red
Grignan	grey	red
Quinson	grey	red
St Agnan	grey	red
Conismarc [Koningsmark]	blue	red
Du Gas	grey	red
Crillon	grey	red
Servon	grey	red
Schomberg	grey	red
Florensac	grey	red
Varennes	grey	red
Chevalier Duc	grey	red
St Silvestre	grey	red
Heudicort	grey	red
Villeneuve	grey	red
St Valery	grey	red
St Germain	grey	red
Locmaria	grey	red
Roquelaure	grey	red
Villars	grey	red
du Bordage	grey	red
Melac	grey	red
Villeroi	grey	red
Lumbres	grey	blue
Tallard	grey	red
Villacerf	grey	red
Pelleporte	grey	red
Montgommeri	grey	red
St Maurice	grey	red
Souastre	grey	blue
Chastelet	grey	blue
Girardin	grey	red
Berry	blue	red[2]
Trian	grey	red
Souvré	grey	red
Camille	grey	red
Forsat	grey	red
Bercourt	grey	red
Larrard	grey	red

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[2] "brandebourg aurore" (orange-yellow buttonhole lace) for Berry]

Villequier	grey	red
Fontenoy	grey	red
Cayeux	grey	red
Garluf	grey	red
Marinault	grey	red
Villeroi	grey	red
La Bessière	grey	red
Brienne	grey	red
Noailles-Duc	red	red
Bourbon	grey	red
[...]		
Aubusson La Feuillade	grey-white	red
L'Estoile	grey	red
Maine	grey	red
Pralin	grey	red
De Rossel	grey	red
Langallerie	grey	red
Courtebonne	grey	red
Rassan	grey	red
Massot	grey	red
Bassy	grey	red
Pracontal	grey	red
St Simon	grey	red
Romainville,	grey	red
Merinville	grey	red
Immecour	grey	red
Magnac	grey	red
Coalis	grey	red
Bezons	grey	red
Suilly	grey	red
Montrevel	grey	red
Grands Royaux	blue	red
Montpeiroux	grey	red
Chalons	grey	red
Courcelles	grey	red
Glissy	grey	red
Vaillac	grey	red
Bouflers	grey	red
Narbonne	grey	red
Anjou	blue	red
Sibourg	grey	red
Poinsegur	grey	red
Comte de Bissy	grey	blue
Doria	grey	red
Quadt	grey	red
Puyguyon	grey	red
Nassau	grey	blue
Hafrelce	grey	blue

Courtandon	grey	red
[...]		

Dragons [Dragoons]

Régiment Colonel Général	red	blue
Mestre de Camp Général	red	blue
Le Roy	blue	red
La Reine	red	red
Daufin [Dauphin]	blue	blue
Gramont	red	green
[...]		
Asfeld	green	red
Asfeld Étranger	red	green
[...]		
Fimarcon	green	green
Sailly [Sallis]	red	red
Languedoc l'ancien	red	red
Languedoc 2e	red	red
[...]		
Bouflers	green	green
Pomponne	red	yellow
[...]		
Verrue	red	yellow
Wartigny	red	yellow
[...]		
De Gramont	red	green
Fonboizan	red	yellow
Royal Gramont	red	buff
[...]		

B)

Description of French line cavalry at Compiègne in the *Mercure Galant*, September 1698

The Cuirassiers [du Roi] are dressed in blue with red cuffs, cuirasses and buff [leather jackets] under [the cuirass].

Generally, the whole cavalry has buff [leather jackets] ... which was not formerly the case and ... has hats laced with gold or silver and white cockades. All royal regiments are dressed in blue ...

The Carabiniers [du Roi] are in blue with red cuffs and with a buff jacket under the coat, they wear white bandoliers ... the officers have silver buttonholes on their coats and waistcoats, which are red.

Royal-Allemand, formerly Konismark, has kept one of its squadrons dressed in the Polish style with fur caps.

The regiments of La Reine and Furstemberg are in red lined with blue. All gentlemen's regiments are dressed with a good grey cloth, with large aiguillettes at the shoulder and the differences between them consist only of the colour and ornaments of the housings and pistol holster [covers]. The trumpets and kettledrummers of the royal regiments wear the king's livery and the others those [liveries] of the colonels whose regiments have their names, one or the other being enriched with gold or silver. The standards have gold and silver embroidery with devises and the trumpet and kettledrum banners are likewise embroidered with gold and silver. All officers are dressed with a fine grey cloth with buttons and buttonholes of gold or silver, or with applied embroidery.

[...]

We were no less struck by the beauty of the dragoons. Those of Royal and Dauphin are [dressed in] blue lined with red and have pewter buttons; those of Mestre de Camp and Peysac are red; those of La Reine are red lined with blue; the two of Hautefort are in green with red cuffs and gold buttons and buttonholes and the officers are very clean. The officers of dragoons wear caps.

The Feronaye cavalry regiment wears grey with green [pistol] holsters [covers]; that of La Vallière is grey lined with red and yellow holsters. That of Cossé is grey lined with red and red holsters; that of Noailles is grey with red cuffs [[3]] and all the others only differ ... by the colour of their housings and pistol holsters, which are in the livery [colours] of their colonels.

C)

Description of the French line cavalry and dragoons at Compiègne, 1698 by L.F. Corfey.[4]

Line Cavalry

Mestre de Camp Général: grey coat, red cuffs, yellow and black hat ribbons, silver hat lace.

Du Roy: blue coat, red cuffs, white hat ribbons, silver hat lace, silver sword knot.

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[3] This is obviously an error by the *Mercure Galant* reporter. Other sources always give the Noailles Cavalry Regiment an all red uniform well into the reign of Louis XV. The Noailles family livery was red with gold lace.

[4] Lambert Friedrich Corfey, 'Reisetagebuch 1698–1700', ed., Helmut Lahrkamp, *Quellen und forschungen zur geschichte der stadt Munster*, neue folge, Vol. 9 (1977).

Royal Etranger: blue coat, red cuffs, black hat ribbons, silver hat lace, silver sword knot.

Cuirassiers du Roy: blue coat, red cuffs, white hat ribbons, silver hat lace, yellow sword knot.

Cravattes du Roy: blue coat, red cuffs, white hat ribbons, silver hat lace, yellow sword knot.

Royal Roussillon: blue coat, red cuffs, white hat ribbons, silver hat lace, white sword knot.

Royal Piémont: blue coat, red cuffs, white hat ribbons, silver hat lace, white sword knot.

Royal Allemand: blue coat, red cuffs, black hat ribbons, silver hat lace, white sword knot; blue over vest, red jacket, red cap with black fur border.

Carabiniers du Roi: blue coat, red cuffs, silver lace, black hat ribbons, silver hat lace.

La Reine: red coat, blue cuffs, white hat ribbons, silver hat lace, blue sword knot.

Dauphin Etranger: blue coat, red cuffs, white hat ribbons, silver hat lace, white sword knot.

Bourgogne: blue coat, red cuffs, black hat ribbons, silver hat lace, silver sword knot.

Anjou: blue coat, red cuffs, white hat ribbons, gold hat lace, white and red sword knot.

Berry: blue coat, red cuffs, white hat ribbons, silver hat lace, red sword knot.

Orléans: white coat, red cuffs, black hat ribbons, silver hat lace, red sword knot.

Chartres: grey coat, red cuffs, white hat ribbons, silver hat lace, red sword knot.

Condé: white coat, red cuffs, white hat ribbons, silver hat lace, red and yellow sword knot.

Bourbon: white coat, red cuffs, black hat ribbons, silver hat lace, yellow and red sword knot.

Rosen: blue coat, red cuffs, black hat ribbons, silver hat lace, yellow and black sword knot.

Du Maine: white coat, red cuffs, white hat ribbons, gold hat lace, white sword knot.

Toulouse: white coat, red cuffs, white hat ribbons, gold hat lace, white sword knot.

Noailles: red coat, red cuffs, white hat ribbons, gold hat lace, orange sword knot.

Duras: grey coat, red cuffs, white hat ribbons, silver hat lace.

Clermont: white coat, red cuffs, white hat ribbons, silver hat lace, green sword knot.

Vivans: white coat, red cuffs, white hat ribbons, gold hat lace, green, black and orange sword knot.

Souvré: white coat, red cuffs, black hat ribbons, silver hat lace, red, yellow and green sword knot.

Grignan: white coat, red cuffs, white hat ribbons, silver hat lace, violet and red sword knot.

La Feronay: white coat, red cuffs, black hat ribbons, silver hat lace, red sword knot.

Camille: white coat, red cuffs, white and green hat ribbons, gold hat lace, green sword knot.

Roquepine: grey coat, red cuffs, white hat ribbons, silver hat lace, red sword knot.

Villequiers: white coat, red cuffs, black hat ribbons, silver hat lace, red sword knot.

Monroy: white coat, red cuffs, white hat ribbons, silver hat lace, green sword knot.

Rohan: grey coat, red cuffs, white hat ribbons, gold hat lace, yellow and red sword knot.

La Vailler [La Vallière]: white coat, red cuffs, white hat ribbons, silver hat lace, yellow and red sword knot.

Furstemberg: red coat, blue cuffs, black hat ribbons, silver hat lace, white sword knot.

Tallemont: grey coat, grey cuffs, white hat ribbons, silver hat lace, green, black and white sword knot.

Villeroi: grey coat, grey cuffs, black hat ribbons, gold hat lace, green sword knot.

Dourches: white coat, red cuffs, black hat ribbons, silver hat lace, blue and orange sword knot.

Cossé: white coat, red cuffs, silver hat lace, black and sword knot.

Auvergne: grey coat, red cuffs, silver hat lace, black and white sword knot.

Tournefort: white coat, red cuffs, white hat ribbons, silver hat lace, orange, white and green sword knot.

St. Pouanges: white coat, red cuffs, white hat ribbons, silver hat lace, red sword knot.

Dragoons

Colonel Général: red coat, blue cuffs, white hat ribbons, silver hat lace, white sword knot.

Mestre de Camp General: red coat, red cuffs, white hat ribbons, silver hat lace, white sword knot.

Royal: blue coat, red cuffs, white hat ribbons, silver hat lace, white sword knot.

La Reine: red coat, blue cuffs, white hat ribbons, gold hat lace, blue sword knot.

Dauphin: blue coat, blue cuffs, white hat ribbons, silver hat lace, white sword knot.

Hautefort: green coat, red cuffs, white hat ribbons, gold hat lace, red sword knot.

Peysac: red coat, yellow cuffs, black hat ribbons, silver hat lace, yellow sword knot.

D)

État des Troupes de France en l'année 1702[5]

Régimens de Cavalerie ayant le nombre de 80 maîtres par escadron [line cavalry regiments having 80 troopers per squadron]

Regiment	Coat	Cuffs
Colonel Général	grey	red
Mestre de Camp Général	grey	red
Comissaire Général	grey	red
Royal	blue	red
Du Roy	blue	red
Royal Étranger	blue	red
Cuirassiers [du Roi]	blue	red
Royal des Cravattes	blue	red
Royal Roussillon	blue	blue
Royal Piémont	blue	red
Royal Allemand	blue	red
Carabiniers [du Roi]	blue	red
La Reine	grey	red
Dauphin	blue	red
Dauphin Étranger	blue	red
Bourgogne	blue	red
Anjou	blue	red
Berri	blue	red
Orléans	grey	red
Chartres	grey	red
Condé	grey	red
Bourbon	grey	red
Du Maine	grey	red
[...]		
Souvré	grey	red
Narbonne	grey	red
Villeroi	grey	red
Rohan	grey	red
[...]		
Villequier	grey	red
Vivary	grey	red
[...]		
Roquepine	grey	red
[...]		
Larrard	grey	red
[...]		

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[5] BMG, Manuscrit A1b 1626 nicknamed "Tiroirs de Louis XIV".

Eclainvilliers	grey	red
Duras	grey	red
[...]		
Imercourt	grey	red
[...]		
Marquis de Bissy	grey	red
Montpeyroux	grey	red
[...]		
Langallerie	grey	red
Courtandon	grey	red
[...]		

Régimens de Dragons [Dragoon regiments]

Colonel Général	red	blue
Mestre de Camp Général	red	blue
Du Roy	blue	red
La Reine	red	red
Dauphin	blue	blue
[...]		
Fimarcon	green	[blank]
Languedoc	blue	red
[...]		

Appendix III

Notes on Line Cavalry and Dragoon Uniforms 1683–1714

A)

Cavalry

Crillon 5 December 1683. Royal pass for shipping to Pignerol 50 ells of scarlet Mousnier cloth, 2,030 ells of Lodève cloth, 400 ells of red cloth for housings, 2,600 ells of serge for linings, 480 Caudebec hats and brass buttons.

Orléans 1703. Grey coat, red cuffs, officer's red housings with the Orléans coat of arms at the corners.

La Trémouille, 1705. Grey coat, red lining, scarlet cuffs; trumpeters (*aurore)* orange coat.

Anlezy, 7 December 1705. Grey coat, half-scarlet cuffs, red lining, cravats and bags for the troopers, green housings; trumpeters green coat with red lining, green cloak with red lining; officers grey-white coat, scarlet cuffs and lining (or for waistcoat), green housings.

Raigecourt, 16 December 1705. Grey-white coat, half-scarlet cuffs, grey lining, possibly grey breeches and red waistcoat, housings possibly yellow with black border; trumpeter yellow coat, half-scarlet cuffs, red lining, black velvet lace, yellow cloak; three buff jackets to the Mestre de Camp company, possibly for officers.

Colonel Général 1709. Black hats edged with gold lace, white ribbon.

Dauphin, 1709. Gilded copper buttons for officers.

Mainsontier, 1710. Grey coat, red lining, scarlet cuffs, copper round buttons, grey cloaks with red cuffs, yellow gloves edged with white, hats, black cravats, hair bags (for queue), red ribbons for queue (also green and white), flat green aiguillettes, green sword knots, lace to edge the trooper's housings; trumpeters green coat with half scarlet (presumably for) cuffs, green housings; officers silver-grey cloth coat, scarlet cuffs and lining, silver hat lace, green housings with silver lace border.

Aubeterre, 1711. Grey-white coat, half-scarlet cuffs, red lining, grey cloaks lined red, red housings and pistol holsters; trumpeter, half-scarlet coat, green cuffs and lining, scarlet cloak lined with green, red housings and pistol holsters; officer presumably grey-white coat, scarlet cuffs and lining, scarlet waistcoat, scarlet housings.

Esclainvilliers, 1711. Grey coat, grey lining, scarlet cuffs and lapels (*revers*), grey cloak; trumpeters buff *isabelle* (buffish yellow) coat and cloak. This contract has red and blue serge for lining; the red may have been for NCOs and the blue for trumpeters; scarlet housings for the troopers [this part crossed out].

Aubusson, January 1714. Grey-white coat, probably red cuffs; trumpeters probably dark yellow coat with black cuffs, lace yellow with a black zigzag between two white laces with black points.

Bourbon, 1714. Inventory of the belonging of Nicolas Morlot, *maréchal des logis* in the Bourbon Cavalry Regiment: a coat and a new pair of breeches of [grey] uniform cloth, the said coat with red cuffs and brass buttons, six cravats, a pair of white gloves, a pair of boots and two pairs of shoes, a silver-laced hat, a pair of pistols, housings and holster covers edged with gold lace, three used wigs.

B)

Dragoons

Notes on dragoon uniforms 1701–1712[1]

Sennectère Dragoons, 15 April 1701. Red coat and waistcoat, sea-green coat cuffs, red cloaks with sea-green lining.

Montmain Dragoons, 8 February 1703. Red coat, green cuffs and lining, white metal buttons, green aiguillettes, black cravat, green waistcoat, red cloak lined with green, red dragoon cap with seemingly green turn-up, green sword knot and cord for brass mounted powder horn, socket bayonets, housings most likely red edged with green lace. Drummers: probably as the men with livery lace. Officers: possibly all scarlet uniform, but their dragoon cap has a green velvet turn-up, scarlet housings laced with silver.

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[1] Abstracts from French probate archives documents reproduced in Robert Hall, Giancarlo Boeri and Yves Roumegoux, *Guidons, Flags and Uniforms of French Dragoons, Militia, Artillery and Bombardiers under Louis XIV 1688–1714* (Farnham, UK: The Pike and Shot Society, 2003).

Aubigné Dragoons, 1704. Red coat with *feuille morte* (dead leaf – a light to medium brown hue) cuffs and lining, 36 white metal buttons, white aiguillettes and sword knot, *feuille morte* waistcoat edged and laced with white, 42 small white metal buttons, *feuille morte* breeches, red cloak with *feuille morte* lining with three livery laces and tassels, red dragoon cap with *feuille morte* turn-up, *feuille morte* housings edged white, red ribbon for horse's tail. Silver lace for brigadiers. Drummers: red coat with *feuille morte* cuffs and lining, silver aiguillettes and buttons, the livery lace appears to have been *feuille morte*, red and silver, *feuille morte* dragoon cap with red turn-up. They also had a cassock decorated with livery lace and tassels. Officers: red coat, *feuille morte* cuffs and lining, silver buttons, buttonhole lace and aiguillettes, *feuille morte* waistcoat laced and edged with silver, *feuille morte* breeches, red dragoon cap with *feuille morte* turn-up trimmed with silver lace and tassel, red cloak lined *feuille morte* and garnished with livery lace, red lined *feuille morte* cloak.

La Vrillière Dragoons, 1 March 1705. Red coat with green lining and three dozens gilded brass buttons per coat, green waistcoat with three dozens small gilded brass buttons, red cloak lined green, white aiguillettes and sword knots, white lace for coat and waistcoat buttonholes, red housings edged with green lace. Drummers: red coat with green cuffs, white buttonholes, black velvet livery lace and a cross on the coat's chest and back. Silver lace for brigadiers sent on 29 March 1704. For a captain in 1704–1705: 4 1/4 ells fine scarlet cloth, 4 1/2 ells Saint-Lo fabric (probably for lining), 19 gold buttons, 34 gold lace buttonholes, housings edged with gold lace.

Villegagnon Dragoons, 1 May 1705. Red with blue cuffs and lining, blue waistcoat, white metal buttons, white aiguillettes and sword knots, red dragoon cap with blue turn-up, hats edged with silver, black cravats and hair bags, white gloves, grey stockings, lace for dragoon caps and housings, 420 sabres, 408 socket bayonets, buff belts. Drummers same as the men with livery laces with their *houppes* (probably tassels), red buttonhole lace, cross on the coat's chest and back.

Lesparre Dragoons, 20 August and 30 December 1706. Yellow coat with red cuffs, lining, aiguillettes, waistcoat and breeches, white metal buttons, yellow dragoon cap with red turn-up and white tassel, yellow cloak lined red with livery lace, yellow housing edged with livery lace. Drummers: wore the Guiche and Gramont livery consisting of a yellow coat with red cuffs and lining, red and blue livery lace. Officers: yellow coat with red cuffs and lining, silver aiguillettes and buttons, red waistcoat edged and laced with silver, red breeches, yellow housings edged with silver.

Bonnelles Dragoons, 11 December 1712. Red coat, cuffs, lining, waistcoat and cloak, white metal buttons, silver laced hats, black cravat, cockade, green and black sword knots, white [marching] gaiters. Silver lace for brigadiers, carabiniers and edging the officer's housings. Drummers: orange coat, red cuffs, silk lace and silver lace. Silver buttons for officers.

Appendix IV

King James II's Jacobite Irish Army in about mid 1689 as Reported to King William III

A)

This list has some officers and units that were later part of the Jacobite army maintained in France by Louis XIV for James II until 1698 as well as the regiments incorporated in the French army in 1690.[1]

"List of King James's forces in Ireland: 8 regiments of horse: Lord Dover's guards at Dublin, Lord Galmoy's, Col. Henry Luttrell's, Lord Albercon's, Col. Sarsfield's, Col. Sunderland's regiment, Col. John Parker's, Col. Tyrconnel's. 9 regiments of dragoons: col. Simon Luttrell's, sir James Cotter's, col. Robert Clifford's, the regiment raised by Col. Miles Riley, Col. Nicholas Purcell's, Lord Dungan's, Col. Thomas Maxwell's, Sir Neill O'Neill's and Col. Daniel O'Bryan's regiments. 60 Regiments of foot: these include the Lord Grand Prieur Fitz James's regiment at Dublin, Col. Dudley Bagnal's, Col. O'Donnel's (not complete), Col. Roger O'Cahara's ditto, Lord Mountcastle's, Lord Gormanstown's, Col. Dominick Brown's, Sir Ulrick Bourk's, Col. Richard Butler's (not armed, said to be designed for France), Col. Bryan Mc Dermott's, Sir Michael Creagh's, Col. Richard Oxborough's, Col. O'Connor's, Lord Galway's (intended for France), Col. John Hamilton's, Sir Maurice Eustace's, Col. John Brown's (not complete), Lord Castleconnel's, Col. Oliver O'Gara's, Col. Edmund Butler's, Col. John Grace's, Lord Clancarty's (intended for France), Lord Tyrone's, Lord Antrim's, Lord Iveagh's, Col. Thomas Butler's, Col. William Nugent's, Lord Louth's, Col. Cahir O'Dougherty's, Sir Charles Carney's, Lord Slaney's, Lord Westmeath's, Col. James Purcell's, Col. Walter Bourk's, Col. Arthur MacMahon's, Col. John Barnett's, Col. Henry Dillon's,

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[1] From *Calendar of State Papers William and Mary Domestic Series* 1689–1690, King William's Chest 6 n° 60, 1689 List of King James's Forces in Ireland. Kindly shared by Giancarlo Boeri.

Col. McGillicuddy's, Col. Charles O'Bryan's, Col. Cormac O'Neills (not complete), Col. Robert Feilding's (not complete, said to be designed for France), Col. Sarsfield's and Sir Edward Scott's not complete, Col. Charles Cavenagh's, the Earl of Clarickand's and Lord Boffin's, Lord Killmallock's, Col. MacCarty Moris', Col. Plunkett's, Col. Edmund Nugent's (new raised, said to be designed for France), Lord Hunsdon's not complete, Col. Gordon O'Neill's, Col. Edmund Ryley's, Col. McGuire's not well armed, Sir John Ftzgearld's. Col. Dorington, Henry Luttrell and Charles Moore are said each to have a regiment. Total: Horse 3,150; Dragoons 4,500; Foot 46,800." Grand total: 54,450.

B)

A List of King James's Army in Ireland after the battle of the Boyne [July 1690][2]

This list is for the whole army and not only those that took part in the battle of the Boyne on 11 July 1690.

Cavalry

Duke of Berwick's 1st Troop of Horse Guards, 1 troop, 400 men

Sarsfield's 2nd Troop of Horse Guards, Leinster province, 1 troop, 400 men

Lord Tyrconnel's Regiment of Horse, Leinster province, 12 troops, 600 men

Sarsfield's Regiment of Horse, Leinster province, 12 troops, 600 men

Galmoy's Regiment of Horse, Leinster province, 12 troops, 600 men

Sutherland's Regiment of Horse, 9 troops, 450 men

Abercorne's Regiment of Horse, 9 troops, 450 men

Parker's Regiment of Horse, 9 troops, 450 men

Luttrell's Regiment of Horse, Leinster province, 12 troops, 600 men

Viscount Tycornnel's Regiment of Horse, North province, 16 troops, 800 men

Maxfield's Regiment of Dragoons, 12 troops, 600 men

Sir Neale's Regiment of Dragoons, North province, 12 troops, 600 men

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[2] Walton, *History of the British Standing Army 1660–1700*, pp.94–96.

Trant's Regiment [of Dragoons] vacant, 12 troops, 720 men

King's Regiment of Dragoons, 12 troops, 720 men

Lord Dungan's Regiment of Dragoons, Leinster province, 12 troops, 720 men

Colonel Carrol's Regiment of Dragoons, Munster province, 12 troops, 720 men

Lord Clare's Regiment of Dragoons, Munster province, 12 troops, 720 men

Colonel Luttrell's Regiment of Dragoons, Leinster province, 12 troops, 720 men

Lord Tyrconnel's Regiment of Dragoons, Leinster province, 12 troops, 720 men

Colonel Purcell's Regiment of Dragoons, Munster province, 12 troops, 720 men

Infantry

Regiment of Guards, 30 companies, 3,000 men

Lord Grand Prior's Regiment of Foot, 22 companies, 1,100 men

Col. Hamilton's Regiment of Foot, Leinster province, 22 companies, 1,100 men

Lord Bellew's Regiment of Foot, Leinster province, 13 companies, 650 men

Lord Gough's Regiment of Foot, Leinster province, 13 companies, 650 men

Lord Galway's Regiment of Foot, Connaught province, 26 companies, 1,300 men

Lord Evaugh's Regiment of Foot, North province, 13 companies, 650 men

Gordon O'Neale's Regiment of Foot, North province, 13 companies, 650 men

Cormack O'Neale's Regiment of Foot, North province, 13 companies, 650 men

Phelix O'Neale's Regiment of Foot, North province, 13 companies, 650 men

Lord Maguire's Regiment of Foot, North province, 26 companies, 1,300 men

O'Reilly's Regiment of Foot, North province, 26 companies, 1,300 men

Brown's Regiment of Foot, Connaught province, 13 companies, 650 men

MacMahon's Regiment of Foot, North province, 13 companies, 650 men

Old Grace's Regiment of Foot, Leinster province, 13 companies, 650 men

Colonel Nugent's Regiment of Foot, Leinster province, 13 companies, 650 men

Colonel Grace's Regiment of Foot, Leinster province, 13 companies, 650 men

Colonel Bourke's Regiment of Foot, Connaught province, 26 companies, 1,300 men

Dillon's Regiment of Foot, Connaught province, 13 companies, 650 men

O'Gara's Regiment of Foot, Connaught province, 13 companies, 650 men

Lord Kingsland's Regiment of Foot, Leinster province, 22 companies, 1,100 men

Lord Trimblestown's Regiment of Foot, Leinster province, 13 companies, 650 men

Butler Mongarett's Regiment of Foot, Leinster province, 13 companies, 650 men

Butler Killeash's Regiment of Foot, Munster province, 13 companies, 650 men

Sir John Fitzgerald Regiment of Foot, Munster province, 13 companies, 650 men

O'Sullivane's Regiment of Foot, Munster province, 26 companies, 1,300 men

Lord Kinmare's Regiment of Foot, Munster province, 13 companies, 650 men

O'Connor's Regiment of Foot, Munster province, 13 companies, 650 men

Lord Slane's Regiment of Foot, Leinster province, 13 companies, 650 men

Sir Maurice's Eustace's Regiment of Foot, Leinster province, 13 companies, 650 men

Lord Westmeath's Regiment of Foot, Leinster province, 13 companies, 650 men

O'Donovan's Regiment of Foot, Munster province, 13 companies, 650 men

Con O'Neale's Regiment of Foot, North province, 13 companies, 650 men

Lord P. Offin's Regiment of Foot, Connaught province, 13 companies, 650 men

Lord Dillon's Regiment of Foot, Connaught province, 13 companies, 650 men

MacKilliaidy's Regiment of Foot, Munster province, 13 companies, 650 men

Sir Mich Creagh's Regiment of Foot, Leinster province, 13 companies, 650 men

Colonel Connell's Regiment of Foot, Munster province, 13 companies, 650 men

Colonel Moore's Regiment of Foot, Leinster province, 13 companies, 650 men

Lord Gormanstown's Regiment of Foot, Leinster province, 13 companies, 650 men

Horse and Dragoons: 12,310; Foot: 32,950. Total: 45,260

Independent troops and companies, nine at 60 men each: 540.

Grand total: 45,800

Appendix V

French Huguenot Units in British Service

A)

French Huguenot refugee units in British service:[1]

Col. Isaac de la Mélonière's Regt. of French Foot, 1 April 1689 (Ireland 1689–1691, Flanders 1693–1697) disbanded 1697 (III: 7, 81).

Col. François du Cambon's Regt. of French Foot, 1 April 1689, Comte de Marton from 12 August 1693 (III: 7, 82).

Col. Marquis de la Caillemotte's Regt. of French Foot, 1 April 1689, Pierre de Belcastel 16 July 1690 (III: 7, 82).

Schomberg's Regiment of French Horse, July 1689 (Boyne 1690), Ruvigny's 1690, disbanded 1698 (III: 26–27).

Col. Frederick Sybourg's Regt. of French Foot, 2 April 1706, Balthazar d'Albon 6 April 1709, Charles Dubourgay 10 August 1709 (Alicante 1709), disbanded November 1712 (V: 12, VI: 13, 176).

Col. François de Nassau d'Auverquerque's Regt. of French Foot, 2 April 1706, Constantine de Magny 25 July 1707 (Almanza 1707), disbanded 1711 (V: 12, VI: 13, 177).

Col. François La Fabreque's Regt. of French Dragoons, 2 April 1706 (Almanza 1707), Henry, Earl of Galway 9 September 1708 (Portugal 1708), Charles Janvre de la Bouchetière 24 June 1710, disbanded 1712 (V: 194, VI: 4, 264).

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[1] From Charles Dalton, *English Army Lists and Succession Registers 1661–1714* (London: Eyre & Spotttiswoode, 1892–1904), 6 volumes.

Col. Balthazar de Foissac's Regt. of Dragoons, 2 April 1706, disbanded 1712 (V: 12, VI: 266).

Col. François Marquis de Montandre's Portuguese Regt. of Foot, 14 July 1708, probably merged into Montandre's Dragoons (VI: 272 – Montandre made Maj. Gen.1 June 1706. V: 17).

Col. John Peter Desbordes' Regt. of Dragoons, 24 August 1709, disbanded 1712 (VI: 4, 268).

Col. Constantine de Magny's Regt. of Dragoons, 24 August 1709 (VI: 5).

Col. John Trapauds Regt. of Dragoons, 24 August 1709, Paul de Gually 24 June 1710, disbanded 1712 (VI: 4, VI: 270).

Col. Joseph de Sarlande's Regt. of Dragoons, 24 August 1709 (VI: 5).

Col. Marquis d'Assas' Regt. of Dragoons, 24 August 1709 (VI: 5).

Col. Marquis de Montandre's Regt. of Dragoons, 24 August 1709, disbanded 1712 (VI: 211, 271)

B)

References to regiments given as per *An Alphabetical Guide to certain War Office and other military records* (London: Public Records Office, 1931):

Assas Dragoons, disbanded 1713 (WO 26/12, p.304)

Belcastel's French Foot, disbanded 1689 (WO 26/11, p.140)

Blosset's Regiment of Foot, officers' list 1706 (WO 4/513, p.64)

Borlé's Dragoons, disbanded 1713 (WO 4/16, p.87)

Bouchetière's Dragoons, disbanded 1713 (WO 26/12, p.304)

Caillemotte's Foot, formation and officers 1689 (WO 24/10, p.26)

Desbordes' Dragoons, disbanded 1712 (WO 26/12, p.304)

Dubourgay's Foot, disbanded 1712 (WO 30/89, p.315)

Ducambon's Foot, formation and officers 1689 (WO 24/10, p.26)

Foissac's Dragoons, disbanded 1712 (WO 26/12, p.304)

Fontjuliane's Foot, officers' list 1706 (WO 4/513, p.63)

French Regiment of Dragoons, formation and officers 1706 (WO 26/12, p.65)

Galway's Regiment of (French) Horse, disbanded 1699 (WO 26/11, p.139)

La Barthe's Foot, formation and officers 1706 (SP 44/172, p.74)

La Fabrèque's Dragoons, formation and officers 1706 (SP 44/171, p.432)

Lifford's (French) Foot, disbanded 1689 (WO 26/11, p.158)

Lifford's (French) Foot, formation and officers 1706 (SP 44/172, p.72)

Magny's Dragoons, disbanded 1711 (WO 26/12, p.358)

Mélonière's Foot, formation and officers 1689 (WO 24/10, p.26)

Miremont's Dragoons, formation 1696, disbanded 1699 (WO 24/20, p.21)

Miremont's Horse, formation 1688 (SP 44/165, p.110)

Montandre's Foot, augmented 1710 (WO 30/89, p.1), disbanded 1712 (WO 4/14, p.55)

Montargy's Foot, formation 1706 (SP 44/171, p.431)

Nassau's [d'Auverquerque's] Foot, formation and officers 1706 (SP 44/171, p.429), disbanded 1712 (WO 30/89, p.315)

Paulen's Foot, formation and officers 1706 (SP 44/172, p.73)

Ruvigny's Horse, formation 1689 (WO 24/10, p.29)

Sarlande's Dragoons, disbanded in Portugal 1711 (WO 26/12, p.358)

Sibourg's Foot, formation and officers 1706 (SP 44/171, p.430), disbanded 1713 (WO 55/346, p.30)

Trapaud's Foot, formation and officers 1709 (SP 44/172, p.250)

Vimarre's Foot, officers' list 1706 (WO 4/513, p.62 – Josia Vimaré was made brigadier general on 1 January 1706, Dalton, V: 17).

Appendix VI

The Imperial Army

The military establishment in the Germanic Holy Roman Empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was a complex and confusing topic then, just as it is now. The Holy Roman Empire consisted of some 300 mostly small states that were more or less autonomous. The Holy Roman Emperor resided in Vienna and was the direct ruler of Austria as well as the nominal sovereign of the Empire. Austria was the largest state with others such as Brandenburg-Prussia and Bavaria being important. In military terms, each state had its army and they were generally modest in size. They could form a significant force when grouped together.

To avoid utter confusion, the fundamental factor to understand is that there were two basic military entities: a) the Austrian Imperial Army which came directly under the Emperor in Vienna; b) the Army of the Emperor (*Reichsarmee*), which was mustered by decisions of the "Diet" (*Reichstag*) assembly that gathered delegates from the various states to form an army of the Circles of the Holy Roman Empire.

The *Reichsarmee* was a fairly loose concept until the mid 1680s when, to face mainly the perceived menace from France, the *Reichstag* agreed to muster a large force. Circles or defence area were organised according to the geographic situation of the various states. The states were organised into 10 circles, each corresponding to an area. The men mustered for a circle were then organised into regiments that could be furnished with uniforms and weapons, and have the same basic military rules and regulations. The Lower Rhine contributed 600 cavalry and 2,707 infantry, Upper Saxony 1,322 cavalry and 2,707 infantry, Austria *2,522* cavalry and 5,507 infantry, Burgundy 1,321 cavalry and 2,708 infantry, Franconia 980 cavalry and 1,902 infantry, Bavaria 800 cavalry and 1,494 infantry, Swabia 1,321 cavalry and 2,707 infantry, Upper Rhine 491 cavalry and 2,853 infantry, Westphalia 1,321 cavalry and 2,708 infantry, Lower Saxony 1,322 cavalry and 2,707 infantry. This came to 12,000 cavalry including 2,000 dragoons and 28,000 infantry for a grand total of 40,000 men. This concept could be easily repeated by the *Reichstag* and augmented if need be. Together, the contingents from the

German states and those of Austrian Imperial Army formed what was often called the "Imperials" or "Imperial Army" by the French.[1]

The Austrian Imperial Army would contribute a contingent to an army of the Circles, but it was a much larger and professional organisation. The principle of having a permanent Austrian military force evolved from the mid seventeenth century. It had 41,400 men in 1656, went down to 16,000 in 1667, up to 59,700 in 1673, down by half in 1679 but up to at least 70,000 in 1683 when the Ottomans threatened Vienna, 63,000 in 1690 (but it could then also count on 40,000 men of the *Reichsarmee*). By 1698, the Austrian Imperial Army was 116,000 men and up to some 129,000 at the beginning of the Spanish War of Succession. It could not be all deployed in western Germany because of the Ottoman Turks in the East, but, over and above his regular army, the Austrian emperor also had about 10,000 to 12,000 *Grenze* or "Pandours" local troops at the Balkan's border. It was the only opposing army to Louis XIV's French army that could muster well over 100,000 men.

It was organised as other western military forces and had a substantial cavalry force at one trooper for every two infantrymen. Cavalry regiments had 800 to 1,000 men divided into five squadrons, the heavy cavalry being cuirassiers, dragoons being medium and hussars light cavalry. Infantry regiments had about 2,000 men divided into 12 to 16 companies including one of grenadiers from the 1670s. They were led by only three officers per company, each gathering about 150 men. General Montecuccoli had replaced matchlock muskets by flintlocks muskets with bayonets from the 1680s so that pikemen became redundant and vanished thus making the infantry's firepower more redoubtable. The Turks were fearful of massed battalion volley fire so Austrian infantry was trained to deliver maximum and rapid salvos, which played a decisive role in driving the Ottomans armies out of southern Hungary. On the eastern fronts, Imperial army soldiers did not expect the Ottoman Turks to give them quarter and they accordingly reciprocated. On western fronts, Prince Eugene related that after beating some French cavalry: "I scolded my soldiers severely for treating all the prisoners à *la turque* (the Turkish way). They had forgotten that it is usual to give quarter to Christians." Against French infantry however, they were facing assiduously trained soldiers that could also deliver, especially when pikes were abandoned in the 1690s, equally severe fire. The artillery was considered an effective arm of the Austrian service as was its engineering capacities. Uniforms were generally pearl grey or grey-white for much the same reasons as those the French army; the basic un-dyed wool cloth to make them came mainly from Bohemia and was not expensive.

Under Leopold I, the soldier's pay was reduced by half and officers were also badly paid; pillaging was therefore endemic and tolerated. Supply and logistical systems were practically inexistent and this was one of the reasons given by the French for devastating the Palatinate because their Imperial enemies could not live off bare lands. However, a start was made

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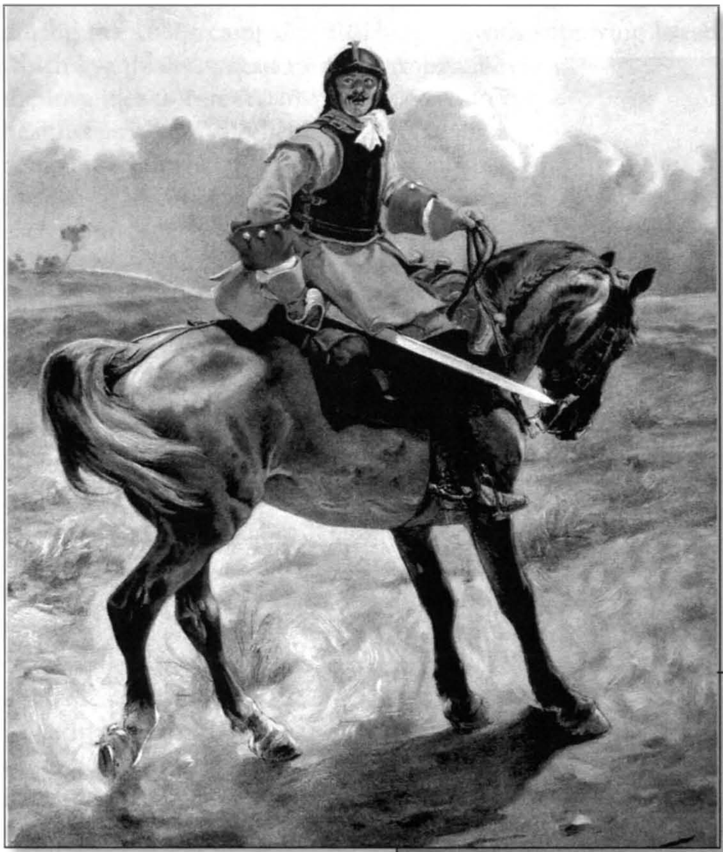
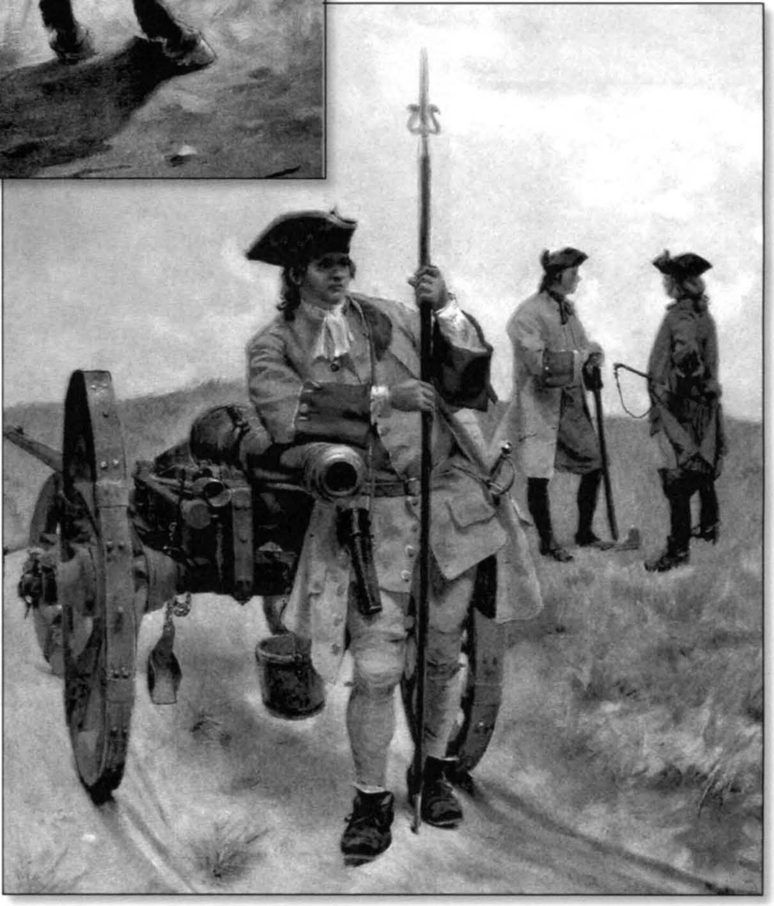
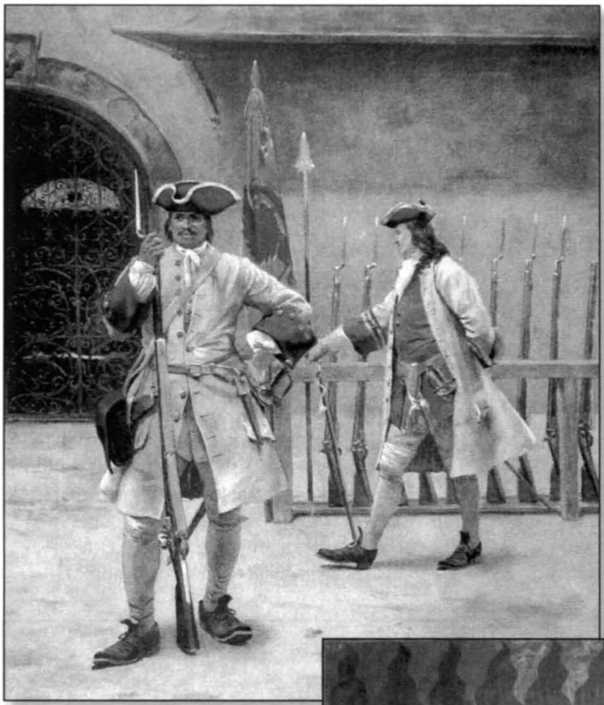
[1] M. Pütter, 'Political History of Germany' in *The Analytical review, or History of literature, domestic and foreign, on an enlarged plan* (n.p., 1790), Vol. 8, p. 527; *Memoirs of Prince Eugene*, p.36.



Left: A trooper of an Austrian Imperial Army cuirassier regiment, c. 1705. Grey-white or cream white coat with red cuffs, brass buttons, buff jacket, black cuirass and helmet, red pistol covers with yellow border, black cuirass and helmet. (Print after Rudolph von Ottenfeld. Private collection. Author's photo)

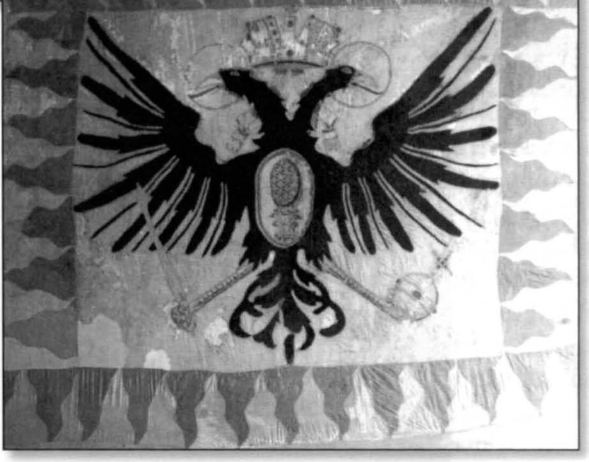


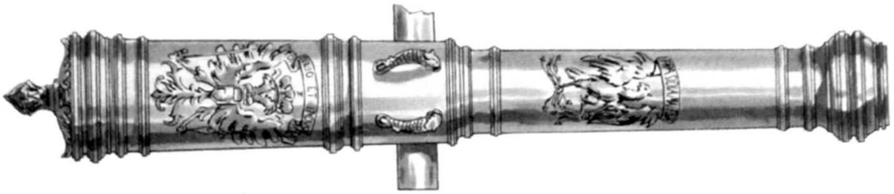
Right: A gunner of the Austrian Imperial Army's artillery, c. 1710. Grey-white uniform with red cuffs and brass buttons. Brass cannon, carriage of varnished wood. (Print after Rudolph von Ottenfeld. Private collection. Author's photo)



Left: A private and an officer of the Bavaria Regiment of the Austrian Imperial Army, c. 1700–1715. Private soldier: Grey-white uniform with blue cuffs, brass buttons, white hat lace, buff accoutrements with black cartridge box. Officer: white coat, breeches and stockings, blue cuffs and waistcoat, gold buttons and lace, yellow-gold sash. (Print after Rudolph von Ottenfeld. Private collection. Author's photo)

Below: Infantry colour of the City of Augsburg contingent of the Army of the Emperor (Reichsarmee), mid seventeenth century. This colour was captured at Rocroi by the French army in 1643. It has the crowned black double-headed eagle of the Hapsburg emperor on a white field. The coat of arms of the city of Augsburg, a green plant on a gold pedestal on a red and white shield (now discoloured) is on the eagle's breast. The border consists of blue and white wavy flames. (Musée Condé, Chantilly. Author's photo)





Brass Austrian cannon cast in 1682. (Print after Rudolph von Ottenfeld. Private collection. Author's photo) during the 1680s campaign in Hungary with supplying bread and horses, which eventually spread to other troops. There was no institution such as the Invalides to care for maimed or veteran Imperial soldiers. Furthermore, health services in the field were inadequate so that it was common for a company to lose half of its effectives to sickness or wounds during a campaign in spite of the efforts of the regimental surgeon or the "barber-surgeon" of each company.

The high command of the Austrian Imperial Army had some of the best generals in Europe and they also tended to command the *Reichsarmee* Circles' contingents. It had a collegial direction in the War Council at Vienna, created since 1556, which had to negotiate budgets as well as with the local governments of Austria and Bohemia. The result was often indecision and thus inefficiency. Nevertheless, some of the leading Imperial generals were Montecuccoli, Charles of Lorraine, Prince Eugene of Savoy and Louis of Baden (also called Louis William of Baden-Baden). Their diverse origins mirrored the Imperial Army's officer corps, which was more cosmopolitan than most armies. A quarter of the infantry officers were foreigners as were some 40 percent of the cavalry officers (which included six percent Hungarians). The others were German speaking. Four out of five infantry officers were not noblemen, three out of four in the cavalry. However noblemen occupied nearly all posts above captain. Officer training tended to be, as in most armies, by having youths serving as cadets in a unit until they could be commissioned. There was no formal military schooling such as seen in France's King's Musketeers. Overall however, from the later seventeenth century onwards, it was a very efficient, numerous and redoubtable force.[2]

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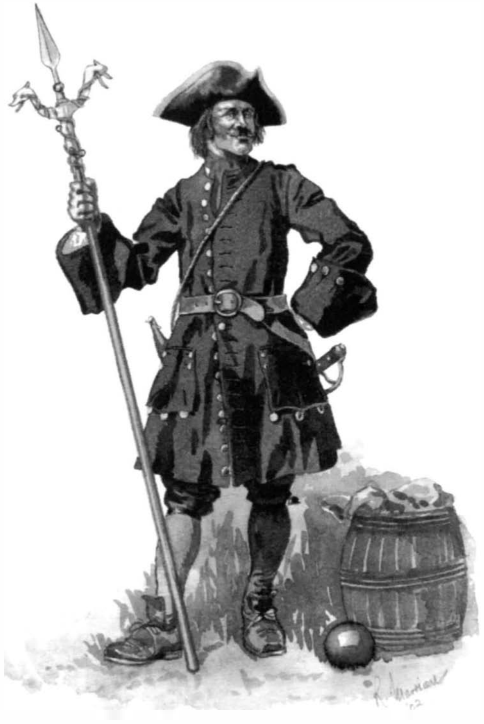
[2] Bély, Bérenger and Corvisier, *Guerre et paix dans l'Europe du XVIIe siècle*, pp.281–292; Herbert V. Patera, *Unter Osterreiches Fahnen* (Vienna: Styria, 1960); Oscar Teuber, *Die Oesterreichische Armée* 1700–1867 (Vienna, 1900), plates by Rudolf von Ottenfeld.

Appendix VII

The Army of Brandenburg-Prussia

The were various types of levies dating from the Middle Ages in Brandenburg-Prussia when Frederick William became the Elector in 1640 and would be remembered as the "Great Elector". His reign was largely marked by a centralisation of powers to have a standing army that was under the authority of the Elector. As seen our earlier volumes, his troops served with other Imperial and Spanish allied armies against the Sun King's armies during the Dutch War as well as decisively defeating the Swedish.

In 1688, at the time that Great Elector Frederick William passed away, the regular army consisted of 35 infantry battalions of 600 men each, 32 troops of cavalry and eight companies of dragoons each having 120 troopers and dragoons, 18 garrison companies and 300 artillerymen for an establishment of 27,800 men for the line units. There was also a staff including engineers, medical and other services. Elector Frederick III was quickly faced with the country's obligations in the War of the League of Augsburg and, by 1693, the army stood at 43,000 officers and men. This represented a substantial financial burden over time and, once peace was concluded, the army was reduced by more than half at about 20,000 men by 1698. The army had performed very well in the allied forces during the 1680s and 1690s against both the French at west and the Ottoman Turks in Hungary and up to Belgrade. Seeing its promising military potential, the Holy Roman Emperor had agreed to change the title of Elector Frederick III to that of King Frederick I of Prussia on 18 January 1701. With the advent of the War of the Spanish Succession, numbers officers and men in the Prussian army rose again and, by 1713, stood at 38,744 and 45,688 two years later. This was due to King Frederick William I who was crowned in 1713 and is recalled by the French as *le roi sergent* (the sergeant king) for his passion of the army whose strength stood at 76,278 when he passed away in 1740. In 1715, he reorganised the 39 infantry regiments or battalions into 26 regiments of two battalions each and would go on with many more reforms thereafter. During the War of the Spanish Succession, Prussian troops were engaged in many battles against the French including Blenheim, Oudenarde and Malplaquet.



Gunner, Brandenburg-Prussia artillery, early eighteenth century. All blue uniform, brass buttons and yellow hat lace. (Watercolour by Robert J. Marrion. Private collection. Author's photo)

The government decided in 1701 to create a "militia" that was in fact a reserve regular force that somewhat imitated the Sun King's Royal Militia of 1688 by subjecting to draft all men able to bear arms and enlisting some by obligation. All in the country were liable to being drafted, but this was in fact mostly done in districts around Berlin. The drafted men were organised into companies that were added to the garrison troops thus enabling nearly all regular soldiers to be deployed. Some 10,000 men were initially drafted and, by 1703, this reserve force consisted of about 19,000 men. These companies were specified as local troops; they were not to leave their district to serve with the regular army, were to watch and defend the frontiers and maintain internal order if warranted. Initially, its men could not be forcibly enlisted in the regular army. More men being need on the western front to fight the French, this privilege was withdrawn in 1708, but the prospect of being drafted into the standing regular army was "too great an exaction" and had caused serious disturbances. The government adjusted its aims in limiting the age of enrolment at 18 to 40 years old and providing many opportunities for exemptions, notably on family grounds. It worked and the local companies continued while the most apt recruits would be incorporated into the regular army. After their service, veterans, who were distinguished by red cravats, were liable to be called up to augment the regular units in emergencies or during hostilities. Brandenburg historians further noted that this type of service in fact also awakened and instilled respect and pride amongst the population for military service as a duty "for the Fatherland".

In terms of organisation, weapons, uniforms and equipment, the troops of Brandenburg-Prussia were generally similar as other western European armies and largely inspired by Louis XIV's army, for instance in creating grenadiers. Weapons followed suit and pikemen were abolished in 1700. Uniform styles were also basically French, but with differences peculiar to north European armies, for instance mitre style grenadier caps. At the capitulation of Namur in 1692, the Grenadier Regiment of Prince Charles of Brandenburg war noted wearing "caps in the form of mitres that were embroidered with silk in front". The uniforms were usually blue for the guards, the line infantry and the gunners, white or grey-white for the cavalry.[1]

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[1] J.M. von Helldorff, *An Historical Account of the Prussian Army* (London, 1783), pp.8–11; Gustav Freytag, *Pictures of German Life in the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1863), Vol. 2, pp.4–11; 'Brandenburg soldiers of the 17th century', *Illustrated Naval and Military Magazine*, 1 December 1886, pp.361–363; *Mercure Galant*, July 1692, pp.349–350; Daniel Holrath, *The Uniforms of the Prussian Army under Frederick the Great* (Vienna: Verlag Military, 2011), Vol. 1, pp.15–19, 26–31.

Colour Plate Commentaries

Plate 1

Gendarmerie de France, Compagnie Écossaise, trooper, early eighteenth century

This company was the senior one of this elite corps. The dress of the Gendarmerie de France in the Sun King's era, however, is thus far not very well known in detail and this figure is largely a reconstruction of features given in a 1713 letter mentioned in this book's main text. For all 16 companies, the uniform's coat was completely scarlet with a modest amount of silver lace for private troopers; they had one row on each cuff and their hats were laced with silver. The buttons were silver. Waistcoats were buff and breeches scarlet. The housings were most likely edged with silver lace and the company badges were embroidered in silver. The Compagnie Écossaise had a crowned lily as its badge. This "Scottish" company was armed with the Scottish Claymore style strong sword featuring its elaborate and distinctive basket hilt protecting the hand. The other weapons were a pair of pistols and a rifled carbine.

Carabiniers du Roi, early eighteenth century

According to the initial 1693 instructions regarding the uniform of this cavalry division of mounted riflemen, the uniform was blue with red lining edged with silver lace. How this was actually set on the coat and waistcoat is unknown in detail until the early eighteenth century watercolours by Delaître. The style shown is that worn during the War of the Spanish Succession and the details are generally in the spirit of the 1693 instructions. For troopers, the coat was edged with a narrow silver lace at the front, the cuffs and the pockets, the buff waistcoat being also edged in front, at the end of the sleeves and the pockets. The hat had a silver lace. The housings were edged with white lace, the buff belts also. The blue cloaks were lined with red. The sword was the standard brass hilted model commonly used by the line cavalry. Firearms consisted of a rifled carbine and a pair of smoothbore pistols. NCOs had the same uniform, weapons and equipment with added rank badges: a brigadier had one row of lace on each coat cuff, a *maréchal des logis* had two laces on each cuff and one lace edging each coat pocket.

Carabiniers du Roi, officer, early eighteenth century
The officers had the same uniform colours as their men for the various garments, but they were made of better quality cloth and decorated with more silver lace as shown. The early eighteenth-century sources show the officer's silver buttonholes set in three's on the coat's front, pockets and rear vent, but as five evenly spaced laced buttonholes on the waistcoat's pockets. The lace on the waistcoat was narrower and set evenly. The officers' silver laced hat had a white plume edging. Their housings were silver laced with a silver tassel at each corner.

Plate 2

Dragoon, Royal-Dragons Regiment, 1660s and 1670s
The early pictorial and descriptive record on early dragoon units known thus far is not especially abundant. Only a few vague descriptions and prints seem so far known. This reconstruction is based on two Venetian and a 1680 *Mercure Galant* accounts that give us an idea of the appearance of early dragoons during the 1660s and 1670s. The distinctive cap, described as a large beret, would seem to have been somewhat similar as later on. As early as 1658, they were seen wearing *bonnets* (caps) when they distinguished themselves at the battle of the Dunes according to *La Grande Mademoiselle*. Being a "royal" unit, it wore the blue lined red King's livery and enlisted men were each armed with a sword, a pistol and an infantry musket with its bayonet since the initial tactical purpose of dragoons was to fight on foot in defensive or assault duties during sieges while using horses to rapidly move and deploy on campaign. The regiment originated as Dragons-étrangers in 1656 becoming Dragons du Roi or Royal-Dragon in 1660. It took part in the 1667–1668 conquest of southern Flanders and Franche-Comté, the occupation of Lorraine in 1670 and the Dutch War from 1672 to 1678 and many more campaigns thereafter.

Trooper, Line Cavalry Regiment, 1660–1670s
Although this was a period when uniforms were slowly but surely introduced in the Sun King's cavalry, especially from 1671, troopers in the field were very likely to still be seen in buff leather jackets, that were often more like coats when they had long skirts and long sleeves. This is what our figure wears, based on several engravings of the period and especially Gaya's *Traité des Armes* published in 1677. The small cuffs might be covered with some coloured fabric for decoration. The right shoulder might have a coloured cord aiguillette that was then a handy little rope used when foraging. A flurry of coloured ribbons—red was a favourite hue—might be on the left shoulder and on the hat, which could be of grey or black felt. Breeches were of buff leather as were bandoliers, not only for convenience, but also for some protection against sword blows as were the heavy black boots. The basic armament consisted of the heavy cavalry sword, the one shown being the classic brass-hilted type, with pistols and a carbine, which was rifled for the elite carabiniers. Once outfitted as such, a French trooper looked a lot like his opponents so a white waist sash was mandatory for national identification.

Trumpeter. Humières' Cavalry Regiment, 1665–1675

A cavalry regiment bearing this name was raised in 1651 by future marshal of France (in 1668) Louis de Lévis de Crevant, Marquis d'Humières who led it as its mestre de camp and served in Flanders, Picardy and Champagne until disbanded in 1661 except for a company retained as independent. It was raised again as a regiment on 7 December 1665 under Mestre de Camp N. de Crevant, Comte d'Humières serving in the 1667 and 1668 *blitzkriegs* in Flanders and Franche-Comté and disbanded in May 1668 except for two independent companies. They were augmented to six companies in 1670 and made into a regiment again under the same mestre de camp, took part in the invasion of the Netherlands in 1672 and then in Germany and Alsace with Marshal Turenne's army. The Humières family livery was yellow lined red with black velvet edged with white (or silver) lace and would have been worn by its trumpeters and kettledrummer until 1675 when it became the property of the Comte de Seyssac of the Villeroi family and future marshal (in 1693). Housings were probably yellow edged with livery lace. The Humières family coat of arms was "*argent, fretté de six pièces de sable*" and would have appeared on trumpet and kettledrum banners on formal parades. The banners colours could have been yellow, but this is uncertain.

Plate 3

Trooper, Berry Cavalry Regiment, late seventeenth century

The 1692 list giving the most basic uniform colours of some line regiments mentions Berry as wearing blue coats with red cuffs and, exceptionally, also adds that it was further trimmed with *aurore* (orange-yellow – "sunrise" in French) "brandebourgs" that is generally understood to be lace decorating buttonholes. This unit had been raised in 1671 as a line cavalry gentlemen's regiment that, in 1685, was acquired by the Marquis de Villacerf of the powerful and influential Colbert family. In 1688, the marquis convinced the Sun King to honour the regiment by appointing his infant third grandson, the Duc de Berry, as colonel-in-chief thus changing the regiment's title. It was then that the now princely regiment went from a grey to the blue uniform of the royal livery and the *aurore* buttonholes most likely also taken into wear then. The regiment fought with distinction at the sieges of Namur, Ath, Charleroi and the battles of Steenkirk and Neerwinden in 1692–1693. By 1698, the lace colour had changed to silver and was possibly now worn only on the hats since buttonholes were no longer mentioned. Buttons were usually the colour of the lace and we have shown this fashion in that they were probably of brass early on and white metal by the end of the 1690s. The regiment served a decade in Spain from 1704 and was present at the victory of Almanza in 1707.

Trooper, Crillon's Cavalry Regiment, 1680s

Joseph-Dominique-Nicolas des Balbis des Bretons, Marquis de Crillon, raised and led his cavalry regiment from 1672 to 1679 when it was disbanded except for one company that he led. It was re-raised under his command in 1683, sent to northern Spain where it took part in the siege of Girona in 1684 and later was posted in southern France. It was in Guyenne when, in September 1689, the regiment was henceforth led by Commandeur Forsat although it was still called Crillon in the 1692 list. Our figure is reconstructed from that list and a December 1683 shipping document (see Appendix III) that reveals the uniform to have been a grey coat with red cuffs and brass buttons, 480 hats made at Caudebec (Brittany) and red housings. This was the typical dress of the great majority of line cavalry regiments.

Dragoon, Fimarcon's Dragoon Regiment, 1680s

This regiment was raised as Barbezière-dragon in 1674 and became Fimarcon in 1678 when the King granted the regiment to the nephew of the Marquis de Fimarcon, who had been killed in action at the head of his regiment (also raised as Fimarcon in 1674), and whose vacant colonel's post was now given to the Marquis de Barbezière. In effect, both regiments exchanged names in this confusing granting of courtly favours. In 1680, the Marquis of Fimarcon's Dragoons wore green lined with buff which is also the colouring of a 1686 satirical print showing a dragoon converting a reluctant Huguenot; it has been ever since the source used to show the uniform of the regiment at that time. By 1692, the lining colour had been changed from buff to green. In 1688, Fimarcon's Dragoons served on the Rhine, in Piémont under Catinat in 1690–1691 and was at Steenkirk in 1692 and Neerwinden in 1693 as well as in several sieges during the Nine Years' War. The regiment remained the property of the Fimarcon family until the advent of the Marquis de Cayla in 1705 when it changed names.

Plate 4

Officer, Mortany's Hussars, *c.* 1705

The officers of hussar regiments could have outlandish dress and do not seem to have been subject to regulations except those of their own purse and taste. This figure is based on a portrait of Lt. Col. Pierre d'Aremberg of Mortany's Hussars. It shows him wearing a scarlet cap trimmed with fur and decorated with a white standing plume. He has a long sleeved scarlet jacket richly trimmed with gold buttons and lace, the cuffs ending in a heavily embroidered bastion-shaped cuff flap with the white shirt's embroidered cuffs emerging below. Over this is a tunic-like scarlet coat decorated with gold lace ending with tassels from neck to waist; the sleeves are short going only to the elbow, the openings edged with gold lace as are the coat's skirts. Slung over the left shoulder is a leopard fur pelisse (or perhaps a quality imitation of it). The breeches are also trimmed with gold lace. The black cravat has scarlet bows and he holds a mace which was the command insignia of hussar officers. It must have been quite an attraction to see to see hussar officers in full dress trot in a French army camp for a meeting with their French counterparts. As noted above and seen in the colour plate by Pierre Benigny, hussar officers could have less outlandish dress when campaigning.

Dragoon, Aubigné's Dragoon Regiment, 1702–1706

The regiment was raised from October 1702 and under the command of the Chevalier d'Aubigné and campaigned in Flanders. Its 1704 clothing contract (see Appendix III) specified a red coat with *feuille-morte* cuffs, lining, waistcoat, breeches and a *feuille-morte* cap with red turn-up. *Feuille-morte* means "dead leaf", a hard to define hue of seemingly brownish yellow. The buttons were of white metal. It campaigned in Flanders and, in 1706, the Chevalier d'Aubigné was killed at the battle of Ramillies. The regiment was given to Louis-Antoine de Gramont, Comte de Lespare who changed its uniform to yellow cuffed and lined with red and fought at Oudenarde 1708. Became Granville in 1709 and was at Malplaquet and later the victories of Denain, Le Quesnois, Douai, Landau and Fribourg.

Trooper, Bourgogne Cavalry Regiment, early eighteenth century

This line cavalry regiment was occasionally called Royal-Bourgogne and, although it did not obtain the "royal" title until 1788, it was very much a royal regiment whose precedence was after La Reine's. It started out as a gentleman's regiment and went up the ladder somewhat when it was acquired by Louis-François de Bourbon, Prince de la Roche-sur-Yon in February 1684. The prince soon displeased the Sun King who, on 5 June 1685, forfeited his regiment in favour of his grandson by the Dauphin, the three-year-old Duc de Bourgogne. It would have been at that time that it started wearing the blue coat with red cuffs and lining of the royal livery worn by "royal" regiments. Corfey's notes in 1698 further mention silver buttons and hat lace. The regiment took part in many battles in the Nine Years' War and the War of the Spanish Succession brought even more engagements in which the regiment was heavily engaged and suffered many casualties. For instance, in 1702, the lieutenant-colonel, was wounded while his son and his nephew were killed at Speyerbach. The regiment was badly mauled at Blenheim in 1704 and at Oudenarde in 1708. But it finally had its revenge in 1712 at Denain clearing the way with its sabres and Landau and Fribourg the following year. Meanwhile, on 8 June 1711, the regiment took the name of Bretagne because the Duc de Bourgogne was one of several in the royal family who fell ill and died in a tragically short span of time (see Volume 4). The regiment went on with its distinguished service and, in 1751, reassumed the title of Bourgogne

Plate 5

Private, Lee's Irish Regiment, 1698

This regiment was seen at the great 1698 Compiègne review wearing red coats with green cuffs and white laced buttonholes with a green waistcoat according to Coffrey and a red waistcoat according to the *Mercure Galant*'s reporter. Either due to faulty observation or some companies had one and other companies had the other; we have chosen green. The regiment came to France in 1690 as Mountcashell's Regiment until 1694 when it became known as L ee's until 1733. It served in Piémont in 1690, in Catalonia from 1691 to 1693 then in Germany until 1697 and Flanders and Germany from 1702 to 1713.

Drummer, Berwick's Irish Regiment, *c.* 1699–1703
Like other Irish regimental drummers, Berwick's drummers wore the livery of their colonel, the Duke of Berwick, which consisted of a yellow coat with red lining. The pattern of the livery lace at that time appears to be unknown so we have left it in white. The drum case was the coat's colour with the coat of arms of the colonel thereon. Formed in 1698, the regiment served in Italy from 1701 to 1706, Spain including the victorious 1707 battle of Almanza, Dauphiné from 1710 to 1712 and Spain again including the 1714 siege and capture of Barcelona.

Sergeant, Galmoy's Irish Regiment, *c.* 1708
The sergeants of this regiment were dressed in a blue coat with red cuffs, brass buttons and red waistcoats (breeches and stockings were likely red also). This was different than the regiment's red uniform with blue cuffs worn by officers and privates. This was a practice occasionally seen for the dress of French army and naval troops sergeants. Galmoy's drummers wore the colonel's livery: blue coats with yellow cuffs and lining (decorated with an unknown livery lace). Galmoy's served in Italy from 1701 to 1707, the Rhine in 1708, Dauphiné in 1709, Flanders from 1710 to 1712, Spain in 1713 culminating in the siege and capture of Barcelona in 1714.

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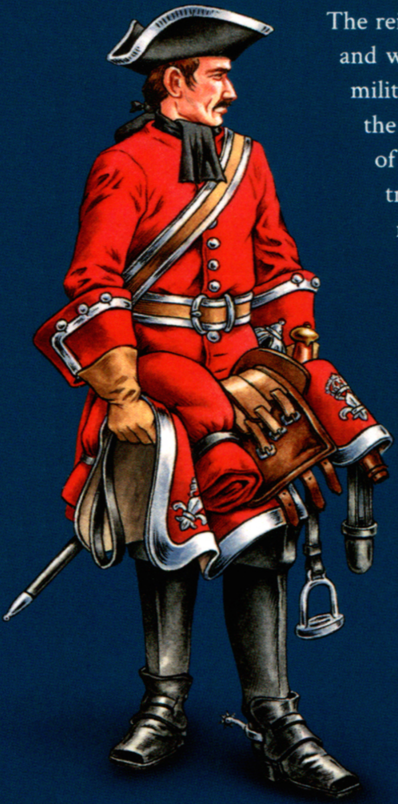

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